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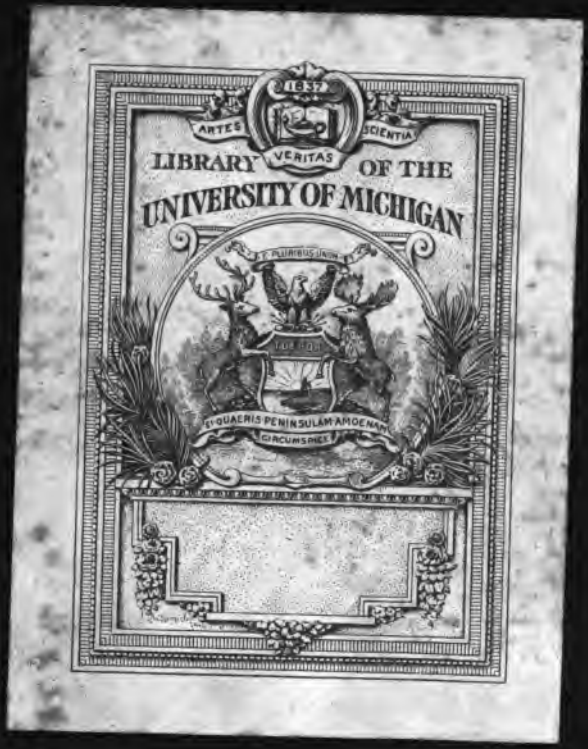

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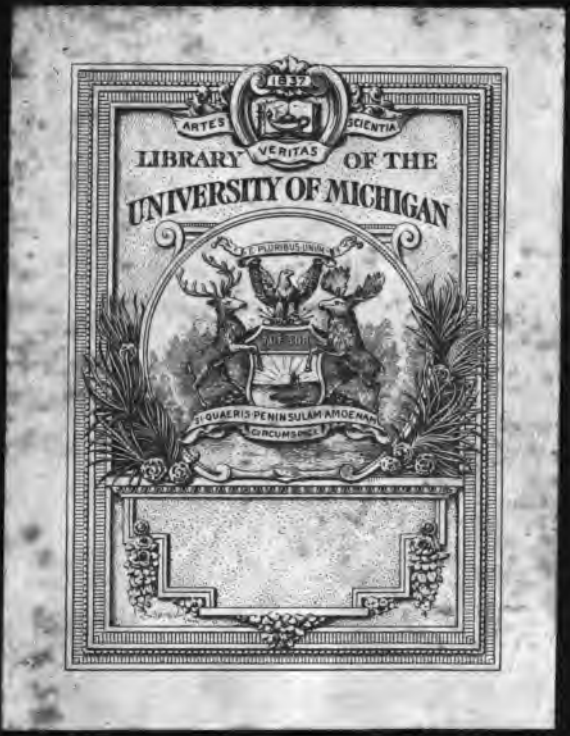

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EDITED BY THE

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HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY; FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND; FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES, COPENHAGEN; FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES; ASSOCIATE OF THE IMPERIAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF RUSSIA; MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC; MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA; AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND.

VOL. VII.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
1878.

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PREFACE.

AT the Annual Meeting of the Society, held on the 14th November, 1878, Lord Aberdare, F.R.S., who had unanimously been elected President in succession to the late Earl Russell, delivered an inaugural address, which, at the request of the Society, is included in the present volume of Transactions. Having, as Secretary of State for the Home Department advised her Majesty to confer on the Society the privileges of a Royal Institution, his lordship's election as President and his acceptance of the office will doubtless be gratifying to the members generally.

The spacious, elegant, and convenient accommodation for its meetings and library which the Society has lately procured in the centre of the metropolis leaves in this respect nothing to be desired.

In connection with the genealogical section has just been issued "Genealogical Memoirs of John Knox and of the Family of Knox."

The Society now exchanges Transactions with the principal Historical Societies of Europe and America.

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Appended to the present volume will be found a brief narrative of the Society's origin and progress, with balance-sheet for the year, and a report on its financial condition. The balance-sheet will be continued annually.

Since the publication of Volume VI. the membership has increased from 556 to 603.

CHARLES ROGERS,

Historiographer.

Society's Rooms, 16, *Grafton Street, E.*
December, 1878.

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TRANSACTIONS

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THE EARLY INTERCOURSE OF THE FRANKS AND DANES.

PART II.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, ESQ., F.S.A.,
Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

THERE is a passage in one of the Frankish annals which has not received the attention which it deserves, and which I believe throws a great deal of light on the history of the Danish revolutions of the early part of the ninth century. This chronicle was written in verse by a Low Saxon monk some time during the reign of Arnulph, who died in 899. Under the year 807 we read that a Norman chief named Alfdeni, accompanied by a great following, submitted to Charlemagne, and made a perpetual pact with him (Pertz, 1, 263). This notice I consider is very important. It is quite clear, from what we know of Norse modes of thought and habits, that this was no plebeian, but some distinguished chief. It is further clear that no Danish chief would put his head under the yoke of the Frank empire except under compulsion. That such a one should have willingly and freely subjected himself to the mighty Kaizer Charles is incredible; nor, again, is it to be supposed that a statement like this, in which an uncommon name is mentioned by the Saxon poet, was an invention of his own. The only alternative that remains is the view I would urge, namely, that he was a fugitive and an

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outcast. If a fugitive, he was in all probability escaping from the dominant chief of Denmark at this time, namely, Godfred.

In my former paper I argued that Godfred was the Gudrod the Magnificent of Snorro, the chief of the Inglings, and that he was a stranger and a conqueror in Denmark. He first appears as king there in 804, the mention of him previously in 782 by Regino being, as I have shown, in all probability a mistake. What more probable, therefore, than that Halfdene was the King of Denmark, or rather, perhaps, of Jutland, who was dispossessed by Godfred? This view, which I believe is new, also explains some very crooked parts of the history of this period.

Halfdene was doubtless the same Halfdene who was sent to the Emperor as an envoy with Osmund by the Danish king Sigfred in the year 782. It is not improbable, as I shall show presently, that on submitting to the Emperor in 807 he received the grant of an appanage, was allowed to settle in Friesland, and Godfred's campaign in Friesland in 810 was perhaps decided against him. I forgot to mention a curious incident of that campaign referred to by Saxo, in which he tells us that when peace was made with the Frisians they had to pay a large sum of money which the conqueror caused to be thrown into the hollow of a shield, and he judged by the sound whether the metal was pure or not: assuredly he must have had a good ear for the ring of honest coin. If my contention be right, then it is clear that on Godfred's death there would be a dispossessed and rival dynasty with better claims than his own to the allegiance of the Danes.

Let us now shortly consider another fact, which has been somewhat overlooked.

Under the year 808 we read that in a fight with the Obotriti there fell Reginold, the nephew of Godfred, "who was the first after him in the kingdom" (Einhardt, Pertz, 1, 195; Chron. Moiss. *id.* 2, 258). Godfred, as we know, left a number of sons behind him; how then was his nephew called the next after him in the kingdom, unless the succession among the Norsemen was the same as in many Eastern nations, where

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brother succeeded brother until those of the same generation were extinct, when the succession went back to the descendants of the eldest? This I believe was the case, and Reginold was perhaps the son of Godfred's brother Eystein, who is mentioned by Snorro.

On the death of Godfred his sons fled as I have mentioned; one of them apparently succeeded to his father's dominions in Westfold, namely Olaf. In Jutland, however, he was succeeded by his brother's son Hemming (Einhardt, Pertz, 1, 197, 198; Kruse, 54). He was doubtless a brother of the Reginold just named.

The Saga of Olaf Trygveson, which is a very late authority, calls him a brother of Godfred, while Saxo makes him a son of Olaf; but these authorities cannot weigh against the contemporary Frank annalist. The new king came to terms with the empire, and in a treaty made between them in 811 the Eyder was accepted as the frontier between the two kingdoms (Helmold Kruse, 58), and thus the border district occupied by the Transalbingian Saxons, and the Obotriti of Wagrien, over which Godfred had enacted a kind of suzerainty, was surrendered to the Franks. This treaty was concluded at a conference held on the Eyder, in which ten chiefs on the side of the Franks were met by an equal number of Danes.

The names of the Franks are thus given :—1. Count Walach, son of Bernhard, that is Walach or Wala, afterwards Abbot of Corbey, cousin to Charlemagne, being the son of his uncle Bernard, whom he sent against the Lombard King Desiderius (Kruse 61, note). 2. Count Burchard; he was *comes stabuli* to the Emperor, and was sent by him in 807 into Corsica (Einhardt *sub ann;* Kruse, *id.*). 3. Count Unroch, the father of Albgar, who was sent into Dalmatia (Einh. *sub ann* 817; Kruse, 62, note 1). 4. Count Wodo, or Odo, doubtless the Odo legatus mentioned in 810 as the commander of Hohbuokhi (Einhardt annales Pertz 1, 197). 5. Count Meginhard, the father of Eberhard the Saxon who was killed in 881 by the Norsemen. 6. Count Egbert

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(already named as the founder of a fortress across the Elbe). 7. Count Theodoric, who was probably a Saxon. 8. Count Abo, probably the Abbio who was baptized with Witekind (*Annales Lauriss*, and Einh. *sub anno* 785; Kruse, 62). 9. Count Ostdag, doubtless a Saxon; and 10. Count Wigman, also no doubt a Saxon (a Wigman Saxonis named in 939 (Pertz, 1, 619). On behalf of the Danes the deputies were thus named :—Two brothers of Hemming named Hancwin (probably Hakon, Dahlman) and Augandeo (Augantyr, Dahl. 25), and the following chief men :—Osfred styled Turdimul (? from Islandic tutinn, and meil mouth, Dahl. 25), and Warstein and Suomi? and Urm, and another Osfrid, the son of Heileg (*i.e.*, Helye), and Osfrid of Sconaowe (*i.e.* of Scania), and Hebbi, and Aowin.

It is remarkable, as MM. Warnkœnig and Gerard have that no mention is made here of Godfred's sons, although Hemming's brothers are named; showing his hostile title (Hist. des Car. 2, 210). We are told that peace was sworn according to the method of the Danes.

The Emperor now divided his army into three sections; one was sent into Brittany, another into Pannonia, and a third crossed the Elbe into the country of the Linones, which restored the fortress of Hohbuoki, destroyed the previous year by the Wiltzi. The Emperor himself went to Bononia (*i.e.* Boulogne), where the ships he had ordered to be built the year before were assembled. He restored the pharos there, and caused the nocturnal fire to be relighted. He then went up the Scheldt to Ghent, where he inspected another fleet, and in the middle of November returned to Aachen, where there came Aowin and Hebbi, the two envoys of the Danish king, bearing gifts. While he thus extended a civil hand to the Norsemen, he carefully prepared more efficacious defences for the coasts. Hemming died in the early part of the year 812. The very suspicious narrative of Saxo makes him be buried at Lethra.

The Frankish chronicles introduce us on his death to a fierce struggle for the vacant throne, and we are told that this

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struggle took place between "Sigfred, the nephew of Godfred, and Anulo, the nephew or grandson of Harald who was formerly king." This Sigfred, or Sigurd, was doubtless a brother of Reginold and Hemming already named, who succeeded them naturally.

Anulo is translated Ringo in Saxo's narrative, and in the Saga of Olaf Trygvason, which at this time seems based on Saxo; and it has been generally agreed that the person here meant is Sigurd Ring, who in the Sagas was a nephew of Harold Hildetand; but it is far from clear that this is so. Saxo's conversion of Anulo into Ringo is probably only one of his ingeniously perverse blunders, for the word is not *annulus* in the nominative, but Anulo, and is conjugated Anulo, Anulonis. It is probably a form of some Norse name, and has nothing to do with Sigurd Ring.

A great deal of difficulty is created in these inquiries by trying to make the semi-fabulous early Sagas fit into the pages of genuine history by forced explanations, and if any good is ever to come from a comparison of them with more reliable documents, we must construct our story at first entirely apart from them.

Putting aside all notions about Sigurd Ring, who then was Anulo? He was clearly a pretender to the throne, and fought on more than equal terms with Sigfred, Godfred's nephew. Now, I have argued that there was at this very time a rival family to Godfred's, namely, that of Halfdene. It is possible then that Anulo was a son of Halfdene. This is my view, and I believe it reconciles much difficulty, and is supported by other evidence. As we read the story then, on the death of Hemming a struggle for the throne took place between his brother Sigfred or Sigurd and Anulo of the rival family of Halfdene.

In this battle both Sigurd and Anulo we are told were killed; but the side of the latter won the day, and his brothers Harald and Reginfred made themselves kings. According to Einhardt, 10,940 men perished in the struggle (Pertz, 1, 199). See also Annals of Fulda, *id.* 1, 355).

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The battle which gained them the throne was fought in 812, and we are told that in the same year they sent envoys to make a pact with the Emperor, and to ask him to send them back or to release their brother Hemming (Einhardt Pertz 1, 199; Kruse 66)—the same person, I believe, who died in Walcheren, as I shall show presently, many years later, and is then distintcly called the son of Halfdene. The next year an imperial conventum or council was held at Aachen, where it was determined to send sixteen of the Frank and Saxon chiefs across the Elbe to ratify a peace with the Danes. They accordingly went, and met sixteen of the latter. They took with them Hemming, and returned him to his people. His brothers were at this time absent, and had gone *to Westerfold*, which region we are told lay beyond their kingdom between the north and west, and looking towards Britain (Einhardt Pertz 1, 200). This, as Kruse argues, was clearly the district of Westfold in Norway (*op. cit.*, 69), the very homeland of Godfred and his people, and therefore subject to the rival family of Inglings. We are told the two brothers reduced the chiefs and people of Westfold to obedience (Einhardt Pertz 1, 200; Kruse 69).

We are told that the same year, *i.e.* in 813, Godfred's sons returned from exile, and were apparently welcomed by a large number of their father's folk, and fought against the two kings, and drove them and their brother Hemming out (Einhardt, Pertz 1, 200; Chron. Moiss., *id.* 1, 311, 2, 259; Kruse 69—71). Meanwhile, Charlemagne died on the 28th of January, 814. His strong arm and vigorous policy had preserved the empire from ravage. The garrisons he fixed on the coast, the guardships he had built on the river, the heavy hand he laid on marauders had restrained the pirates of Denmark and the Saracens from too daring attacks. But even these precautions had not entirely availed. Already the bold seamen of Denmark had coasted round the peninsula, and entered the Mediterranean, and the monk of Saint Gallen relates how the Emperor one day, when in one of his southern ports, saw from the walls the ships of the Northmen

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in the distance, and although they dared not beard him, he is said to have lamented for the fate of the empire and his descendants (Kruse 11; Pertz 2, 757, 758). Depping* tells another anecdote referring to a similar prevision of calamity. Liudger, a scholar of Alcuin's, had been a youthful missionary among the Westphalians and Frisians. He also now wished to go among the Northmen and reclaim them to Christianity, but the Emperor, who had made him Bishop of Munster, would not permit him. His influence among the Frisians was too valuable for his life to be risked on such a dangerous errand. Liudger, too, saw the danger that loomed in the future; we are told how he one night dreamed that clouds came from the north, covered the face of the sun, and threw a gloom over the earth. This he interpreted as the coming of the Northmen. "I shall not see it," he said to his sister, "but you will;" and truly, as his biographer says, they came frequently after he was dead, and ravished the land mercilessly.† These calamities did not come at once. The first successor of Charlemagne was quite equal to defending his frontiers, however incapable he was of managing his household. He was a soldier as well as a scholar. The Avars and Saracens had both tested his prowess before his father's death and after he was crowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen himself. Louis received lordly embassies from Nicephorus, Emperor of Byzantium, and the Khalif Abdulrahman, the rulers of the two strongest empires of his day. It is not strange, therefore, that the Danes respected his borders. Their intestine quarrels continued, however. In 814 the two kings Harald and Reginfred who had been expelled by the sons of Godfred collected an army and returned to the attack. In the fight that ensued, Reginfred and the eldest son of Godfred were both killed. The invaders were evidently defeated, for we are told by Einhardt that Harald repaired to the Emperor and acknowledged his supremacy (se in manis

* Depping, 1, 67, 68.

† Altfridi vita sancti Liudgeri, 2, 3, &c., Depping, 68, note.

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illius commendavit—Einhardt Pertz 1, 201; Kruse 72, 73). He was told to return to Saxony and to wait awhile, when he might hope for assistance. The Emperor gave orders that the Saxons and Obotriti should prepare to assist him. It was proposed to advance while the rivers were still frozen, but a sudden thaw broke them up, and the expedition was postponed till the May of 815. The combined troops, led by the imperial legate Baldric, then crossed the Eyder and advanced several days' journey into the Norman district called Sinlendi, *i.e.* the Sillend of others, without doubt South Jutland (Kruse, 73). They went as far as the coast, where they entrenched themselves. Godfred's sons meanwhile retired to an island three miles off the coast (Kruse suggests the island of Alsen, *op. cit.* 74), where they assembled a large army and a fleet of 200 ships. The invaders dared not cross arms with them, and contented themselves with ravaging the districts around, carried off forty hostages, and then returned to the Emperor, who was at Paderborn. Dahlman makes out the camp of the invaders was at Snoghoi, opposite the town of Middelfast, in Funen, where the Belt is very narrow (1, 27). It would seem from the confused account in the Icelandic annals that Ragnar Lodbrog was opposed to Harald on this occasion (Kruse, 75).

This expedition of the Frank Emperor seems utterly indefensible. To take the part of a fugitive chief who has been driven out of his country, to invade and ravage that country with no substantive quarrel of one's own, is surely to tempt severe reprisals when opportunity arrives, and we need not travel far, when we find such policy in vogue, to excuse and palliate the cruel ravages of the Danes a few years later. Louis had no more right to intervene in the domestic quarrels of the Danes than Napoleon in those of Spain, and if it was deemed good policy then to sow discord among the frontagers of the empire by taking the sides of fugitives and pretenders (a policy carried out with the Obotriti as well as the Danes), we need not wonder that such sowing should lead to a plentiful growth of

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ill-feeling on the part of the victims. Louis was too strong to be attacked, nor was his strength tempered with overmuch courtesy, for we are told that in 817 the sons of Godfred sent envoys to him to complain of the attacks of Harald, and offered their master's submission. It was deemed politic to neglect it, and further assistance was offered to Harald. About the same time Sclaomir, who, on the murder of Thrasco, had been made chief of the Obotriti, was ordered to share his realm with Ceadrig, the son of his predecessor. This he resented, swore he would neither cross the Elbe again, nor attend the imperial palace, and he also sent envoys to Godfred's sons and invited them to invade Saxony beyond the Elbe (granted to his people by Charlemagne). They accordingly set out with their fleet, mounted the Eyder to Esesfeld, now called Itzehoe, and ravaged the borders of the river Stur, at the same time Gluomi, the commander of the Danish frontier, advanced overland to the same place, but they retired before the determined attitude of the Franks. This was the first time so far as we know in which the Danes openly dared to attack an imperial outpost, Frisia being only an appanage at the most, and almost independent.

We now read of a revolution in Denmark which is not quite explicable. We are told that Harald, having led his ships by the Emperor's orders through the land of the Obotriti, returned to his own country, where he was well received by two of Godfred's sons, who agreed to share the kingdom with him. Other two sons, however, were expelled from the kingdom, and Einhardt adds, "sed hoc dolo factum putatur"* (Einhardt Pertz 1, 208; Kruse 78). The meaning of this revolution, I presume, is that Harald, backed by the influence of the Frank Emperor, succeeded in planting his foot once more in his native land, not as a welcome guest, but as a traitor, whose presence was a daily insult to his neighbours. The question arises, who were the sons of Godfred? About one of them there is no difficulty, the one who supplanted and probably outlived all the rest, Eric, known as Eric the First;

* Einhardt, ann. 815.

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the other brother, who remained behind, and who shared the kingdom with him, was not improbably Halfdene, king of Westfold, who was a son of Gudrods. He is well known from the Heimskringla as Halfdene the Black (see Kruse 79). He probably took the portion of his father's kingdom beyond the Sound, while Eric took Jutland.

In 820, thirteen piratical ships made a descent upon the coast of Flanders.* They committed some damage and captured some cattle, when they were driven away by the coastguards. They repaired to the open low-banked estuary of the Seine. Here they were attacked, and lost five of their number. Sailing on again, they once more landed on the coast of Aquitaine, at a place called Bundium (*i. e.*, Buin, on the island of the same name).† There they plundered effectively, and returned home laden with an immense booty (Einhardt Pertz, 1, 207 ; Kruse, 79), and with abundant temptation to their hardy, poor, and adventurous countrymen to try the trade of buccaneering. As Kruse suggests, it is exceedingly probable that this expedition was led by the two of Godfred's sons who were driven away from home in the preceding year (Kruse, *op.* 80).

During 821 the empire was not molested by the Danes, and Harald, we are told, lived peaceably with the sons of Godfred. The latter, however, were only considered to be fair-weather friends to the empire, as Ceadrig, the chief of the Obotriti, was suspected of holding secret intercourse with them. Sclaomir, who was detained at the Frank court, was allowed to return home, probably with the intention of displacing him ; but on his arrival in Saxony he fell ill, and having been baptized, died (Einhardt Pertz, 1, 207 ; Kruse, 80).

It was the custom of the Emperor to spend several months of each year in a tour of inspection of his dominions. As Palgrave well observes, the Carlovingian sovereigns knew the country well from constantly traversing it. "Travel and tramp are good teachers both of statistics and geography."

* Einhardt, *sub ann.* 820.

† Depping, 1, 76.

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On returning from his tour the Kaizer generally settled down at one of his palaces—Aachen or Nimvegen, Compiegne or Ingelheim or Frankfort. There he received envoys from the dependent nations, and controlled the administration of his vast dominions. At the council held at Frankfort in 822 we are told that envoys came from all the Eastern Slaves—from the Obotriti, Sorabi, Wiltzi, Bohemians, Marvani (*i.e.*, Moravians), and Prædenecenti (*i.e.*, the Obotriti), who lived near the Danube, close to the Bulgarians (Kruse, 83, note), and from the Avars, bringing gifts (Einhardt Pertz, 11, 209; Kruse, 83). The monk of St. Gallen adds that they took gold and silver as proofs of devotion, and their masters' swords as symbols of subjection (Depping, 76, note); but this is probably a rhetorical flourish. Among the rest we are told that Harald and the sons of Godfred also sent envoys to this conventum (Einhardt, *op. cit.*).

We now arrive at a period when the Franks were preparing to evangelize the country beyond the Elbe, a policy which, perhaps, more than any other brought upon them those flights of gad-flies, the Danish rovers, in the next age. We are told in Rembert's "Life of St. Anskarius" that about the years 817—819 Ebbo, the Archbishop of Rheims, burned to call the heathen, and especially the Danes, whom he had frequently seen at the palace, within the Christian fold (vit. St. Ansk. Pertz, 2, 699; Lang, 1, 508; Kruse, 79). His first efforts in this direction apparently took place in 822, when we are told in the Fuldensian annals that he evangelized the race of the Norsemen (Pertz, 1, 357; Kruse, 81),—that is, he probably had the gospel preached to such of Harald's people as had come within or near the Frank frontier.

The next year Harald attended in person at Compiegne, and complained that Godfred's sons threatened to expel him from the country; and the Emperor determined to send the Counts Theothar and Hruodmund as envoys to Godfrey's sons, and to make inquiries on the spot, and report to him. With them went Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who on his return claimed to have baptized many (Enhardus, Fuldensian

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Annals, Pertz, 1, 211; Kruse, 83). According to the monk Ermoldus Nigellus, he also converted King Harald, and persuaded him to become a Christian. The Emperor seems to have been satisfied with his inquiries, for in 825 the envoys of Godfred's sons went and renewed their pact with the empire. We are told peace was ratified with them in October of 825, and that it was signed "*in marca eorum*" (*i. e.*, on their march or frontier). It was this march or mark which probably gave its name to Denmark, which is merely the march or mark of the Danes (Kruse, 85). The next year the conventum was held at Ingelheim, in Charlemagne's palace; there were envoys from the Obotriti and from Godfred's sons (Einhardt Pertz, 1, 214; Kruse, 88). But this conventum was famous for a much more important event. Harald, who had been driven out by Godfred's sons, and was now a fugitive, deemed it prudent to adopt a new policy. He determined to be baptized, and to become a dependent of the empire. The story of the ceremony has been told in detail by the panegyrist of Louis, the monk Ermoldus, who was doubtless an eye-witness; and a very graphic picture it is of the imperial court in the early part of the tenth century.

Einhardt tells us how Charlemagne built himself a palace at Ingelheim, a suburb of Mayence, close by the church of St. Alban, then outside the city walls—a palace that overlooked the grand old river which was especially the Frankish river, namely, the Rhine. The poet Saxo speaks of its hundred pillars—doubtless such pillars as still survive in Charlemagne's Dom at Aachen, the spoils of old Rome. Some of the capitals of these Ingelheim pillars may be seen in the museum at Mayence. Ermoldus describes it as ornamented with bas-reliefs, in which the great conquerors and legislators of old were represented—Alexander and Hannibal, Constantine and Theodosius, Charles Martel receiving the submission of the Frisians, and Pepin of the Aquitanians; while on other slabs were represented the dealings of the mighty Karl himself (Karl with the sage front, as he is styled) with the Saxons,—all rude enough, no doubt; rude copies of

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rude works of the latter days of the Western Empire, but when hung about with the florid tapestries and hangings that came from the Saracen looms, impressive enough to the warriors of the Slavic and Northern marches. There in his aula Louis received the many-tongued and variedly dressed deputations of his friends and satellites. It was there that in 826 Harald went with his wife and his son, and a large body of retainers. The monk describes how when the fleet approached, the Kaizer sent Matfred with a body of followers to meet the Danes; sent them also richly caparisoned horses, and how Harald approached the hall of audience mounted on a Frank horse. He also gives at length what he claims to be Harald's address to the great Louis; how he had been converted by the Archbishop Ebbo, and now wished to be baptized. The ceremony was performed in the Dom of the monastery of St. Alban, whose walls were painted with scenes from the Old and New Testaments. Louis was godfather to Harald, and decked him with his white chrismal robe; the Empress Judith did the same for the great Dane's consort; while the young Lothaire, the Emperor's heir, was sponsor to Harald's son. With them were baptized four hundred Northmen.* There was a dearth of white robes, and they had to be made quickly and rudely; and the monk of St. Gallen reports how one of the northern warriors rejected his robe, saying, "Keep your dress for women; this is the twentieth time I have been baptized, and never before had I such a costume." This, as Depping says, was probably a tale invented to amuse the courtiers at Ingelheim. After the ceremony the Emperor gave his *protégé* some lordly presents, gave him a purple robe fringed with gold, the sword that hung by his side, a golden girdle, golden bracelets for his arms, and a jewelled sash for his sword, a coronal for his head, gave him his socks of golden tissue and his white gloves. His wife was also duly decked by Judith with a tunic stiff with gold and jewels, a golden band to entwine her flaxen curls, a twisted golden collar about her neck, bracelets

* "Annales Xantenses," *sub anno* 826 in Depping.

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on her arms, a gold and jewelled sash about her waist, and a cape of golden tissue upon her shoulders; while Lothaire presented his godson with garments of golden tissue. Their four hundred followers were also rewarded with presents. When thus decked out they proceeded to the Dom, where priests and attendants were assembled, a picture of glorious colour. We are told that Theuto, with his ferule in his hand, ordered the singing of the choir of clerics, which raised the alleluia; and amidst the stirring strains the great Kaizer and his company paced up the church to the apse, the Abbot Hilduinus on his right, the Imperial Chancellor, the Abbot Helisachar, on his left, his crown on his head, followed by the great nobles of the empire clad in their state robes. Most imposing must such pageantry have been to ordinary eyes, but how much more to the homely experience of the Danish exiles! We are told how the preacher raised his voice, and bade Harald convert the Danish swords and spears into ploughs and reaping-hooks—surely a cynical address in the presence of the war-loving Franks. It must have been a solemn sight when, placing his hands in those of the Emperor, Harald commended himself and the realms over which he had such a shadowy hold into the hands of his suzerain. Jutland was formally at least added to the appanages of the empire. Once more the Frankish sovereign might claim the much-honoured style of Mehrer des Reichs, increaser of the empire.*

After the state ceremonial came the feast, over which Petrus, the chief baker, and Gunto, the chief cook, and Otho, the chief butler (no doubt honorary officers), presided, spread out the napkins with their snowy fringes, and laid the victuals on the marble discs. Golden cups were used for drinking. By Louis' side sat his wife Judith, the hated step-mother of his sons.

After the feast the Danes were entertained at a royal hunt on one of the wooded islands of the Rhine, and the spoil of stags, wild boars, and roes was afterwards borne in in state and divided among the courtiers and others, the clergy, as the old poet remarks, getting their due share.

* Palgrave, 1, 258.

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When Harald had declared himself "the man" of the Kaizer, we are told that after the manner of the Franks he was presented with a steed and a set of arms. He also received more valuable gifts, for we are told that the Emperor granted him the district of Riustri, "a rich and extensive Gau or Pagus, still called Rustringen or Butyadingerland, in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburgh." To this was added a vine-growing district, "loca vinifera," as Ermoldus calls it, probably the district near Coblenz, Andernach, and Sinzig, which was afterwards, namely in 885, claimed by Harald's son Godfred (Kruse, 95). These grants probably had attached to them the condition that attached to other margraviates, that of defending the borders of the empire against the Danes. At length Harald departed, accompanied by the monk Anskarius, with appropriate store of sacred vessels, vestments, and priests' books to convert the Danes to Christianity, and to subservience to the empire.*

On Harald's return he was accompanied as I have said by the monk Anskar, the famous apostle of the North, and his companion Autbert. Their venture and that of Archbishop Ebbo, to which I have referred, were not the first missionary efforts in this direction. As far back as the year 699 the English bishop St. Willibrord had made an ineffectual attempt at introducing Christianity into Jutland, but was repelled by the then king of the country, who is called Augandus (Dahlmann, 1, 30). He baptized thirty Danish boys, who he hoped would form the nucleus of a Christian community. Among these, tradition makes out that St. Sebald, who in the legend is called a son of a Danish king, was one (Dahlmann, 1, 30, note). We have also mentioned Olger the Dane, one of Charlemagne's paladins, and "a most Christian prince." These earlier efforts, however, seem to have left no fruit behind them, and Anskar may claim the honour of having been the proto-apostle of Scandinavia. He was born on the 9th of September, 801. Having lost his mother when

* Palgrave, 1, 257. See also the long note in Langebek's life of St. Anscharius, Lang. Rer. Dan. Scrip., 1, 439.

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he was five years old he became an inmate of the school attached to the Abbey of Corbey, in Picardy, and was there ten years; later he adopted the monkish habit, and when he was twenty was at the head of the school. In 823 he set out with other monks from the same abbey to work in Westphalia, where on the river Weser the Emperor Louis had built several churches and monasteries, and founded a "New Corbey" as a focus of missionary light. He had worked in Westphalia for three years, when he received orders from the mother monastery at Corbey to accompany Harald homewards. He declared his willingness to go, and was introduced to the Emperor, and supplied with the necessary articles—vessels, vestments, and books, together with tents and other necessaries, but with no servants, as none volunteered, and they did not wish to constrain any; another monk named Autbert, as I have said, was his only companion. They were commissioned to take care the converted king did not relapse into his old ways, and to instruct him further in the Christian faith, and also to preach to the heathen in Denmark. They had a wretched journey down the Rhine, past the lovely Rheingau and the Drachenfels, and suffered a good deal from the coarse, rude manners of Harald and his companions. Their condition was improved, however, when they were supplied with a separate vessel by Hadebold, the Archbishop of Cologne, where they could stow away their goods. It contained two small cabins, a luxury unknown to the Danes. These took the king's fancy, and he transported himself into the Frankish ship, and took possession of one cabin; but he considerately left the other to the two monks. They afterwards gained his confidence and the respect of his people. They went by way of Dorestadt (*i. e.*, Wykte Doorestede), which was an appanage of Harald's (Fulda Annals, *sub ann*, 850), and then by the Lech and the Maas into the North Sea; coasting along the Frisic shore they arrived at the mouth of the Weser, where Harald's newly granted appanage of Rustringen lay, and then onwards to Harald's frontiers in the south of Schlesvig (Dahlmann, 1, 38, 39). There Anskar began his evangelistic work.

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Let us turn from the gorgeous ceremonial at Ingelheim, in which the exile Harald so freely laid himself and his country at the feet of the Frank Kaizer, to the Danes and their rulers. Jutland was then a rugged dreary land. Adam of Bremen describes it in the eleventh century as a huge waste of marsh and sterile land ("Porro cum omnes tractus Germaniæ horreant saltibus sola est Jutland ceteris horridior"). Cultivation was confined to the river banks, and its farms were wide asunder; the population a rough, hardy, and persevering folk, such as the Danes are still,—fishermen and sailors, much attached to their old creed and customs, and ruled over by the royal race of the Scioldungs. One can well believe how unwelcome Harald would be to this folk, coming to tie their necks, impatient of restraint, to the triumphal car of the great Emperor, whose renown had reached their ears, but whose yoke they had not felt about their necks. Nor can we wonder that Christianity coming under imperial auspices,—coming, in fact, as the pendant to the chains of subservience to the Frank throne—should have been received with scorn by the bulk of the people, and that their old faith, which thus became a symbol of their freedom, should have been clung to with the long-enduring affection which was by their neighbours the Saxons.

In 827 we read that the Emperor held two general assemblies, one at Nimwegen, the grand old fortress whose fragments still remain and command the course of the Lower Rhine, and the other at Compiegne. The former was held, we are told, to meet the wishes of Eric the son of Godfred, who had promised to attend it in person (Einhardt Pertz, 1, 216; Kruse, 104). These promises are styled "falsas pollicitationes," which show that he did not go. The sons of Godfred, on the contrary, seem to have expelled Harald once more from their borders (*id.*), and we are told that in 828 negotiations were opened for mutual peace between the Danes and Franks, and to arrange the affairs of Harald. At this conference nearly all the Saxon counts and the marquises or march guardians were present. But while the Saxon counts and

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Danish lords were treating, Harald, who was perhaps somewhat jealous of the peacemaking, went into and burnt some Danish hamlets. Godfred's sons thereupon naturally collected an army, attacked the Franks, and drove them across the Eyder (Einhardt in Kruse, 106). This was in 828. Such was the treacherous dealing which sharpened the spears of the Danes when they revenged themselves upon the cities of the Frankish empire some years later. They behaved meekly enough on this occasion, for we are told by Einhardt that they sent envoys to the Emperor to explain how they were driven to the course they took, and were ready to make amends, and the Emperor was satisfied. Depping asserts that they even agreed to admit Harald into their land, probably to share its government, but I have not traced his authority, nor does this seem probable from other considerations. He seems, in fact, to have settled down in his appanage beyond the Elbe on the frontier of Jutland. There also settled the monk Anskarius and his companion Autbert, where they busied themselves with the conversion of such as were willing to become Christians. After working for two years Autbert sickened, returned home, and died.

We now come to an incident which shows how Anskar's mission was suspected more politically than otherwise. While he had to do his missionary work from outside Denmark, envoys came to the Emperor from the Swedes, begging him to send some missionaries to them. Sweden probably felt itself out of reach of the grasping Frankish empire, and could afford to trust the missionaries. Anskar volunteered to go, and his journey thither I shall describe in a future paper. On his return in 831 it was determined to found a See on the pagan marches, whence the North might be evangelized; and he was accordingly appointed Archbishop of Hamburgh. He journeyed to Rome to receive the pallium, and was duly invested with the commission of apostolical legate to the Swedes, Danes, and Slaves. He busied himself with his work, and we are told how he redeemed boys from slavery among the Danes and

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Slaves, and educated them for the service of God,—native presbyters such as our missionaries still find so useful in Africa and elsewhere. It is probable that few of the Danes save exiles and their like were much influenced by his teaching. The converts were no doubt looked upon as political traitors and renegades, and their new faith as a badge of their disloyalty as well as apostasy. This nest of Christians just on the borders of the Eyder was a constant menace to their independence, a mere imperial outpost at their very threshold. It was doubtless the feeling nursed by these circumstances that made Christianity and its professors so bitterly hated by the corsairs of a few years later, and made so many ruins of monasteries and churches. In our own day the same feeling led to similar cruel persecutions in Japan and China, where indifferentism and toleration in religious matters are tempered by a fierce jealousy of political propagandism.

In 831 the Emperor held his third general placitum at Thionville (Theodonis villa), and envoys went there to him from Persia seeking peace. There also went others from the Danes, no doubt from Eric, and having renewed their pact with the empire, returned home (Annales Bert. Pertz, 1, 424; Kruse, 113). It has been remarked how the early Danish attacks upon the coasts of the empire were far from being mere individual acts of piracy, and were deliberate acts of war, differing from the contemporary wars of the Franks only in being sea fights and not land fights. This is clear when we consider that whenever there was peace between the imperial ruler and the Danish king, and envoys were exchanged, we read of no attacks on the coasts, and that these only occur when there was a feud between the two powers. In England and Ireland matters were very different, as we shall presently show. The view here urged is supported by the further fact that the assaults upon the coasts of the mainland of Europe, when they recommenced, were directed not against the empire itself, but against the fief granted to Harald and his family. They continued, in fact,

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the long strife between the sons of Godfred and their rivals which we have traced out.

There is good reason for believing that besides the Gau of Rustringen, the greater part of Frisia and of modern Holland were under the immediate authority of Harald and his relatives (Thegani vita Hludovic Imp. Pertz, 2, 597; Kruse, 89); and we accordingly read that in the year 834 the Danes devastated a portion of Frisia, and having doubtless mounted the old course of the Rhine, now called the Oude Rhyn, they reached Vetus Trajectum (*i.e.*, Utrecht), and then passed on to the great mart of these parts, which gave its name to the district —namely, Dorstadt. This was a famous trading centre, where the Carlovingians had a mint, of which many coins are extant, and, according to the life of St. Anskarius, there were fifty-five churches and a crowd of clergy there. So famous was it as a religious centre, that pilgrims visited it like they did the most holy places elsewhere, and a church was borne as the emblem on its coins (Depping, 81, 82). It was situated at the point where the Lech and the old Rhine diverge, and is now represented by the village of Wyk te Doorestede, the Vicus Batavorum of Tacitus (Depping, *loc. cit.*). It was doubtless the metropolis of Harald's dominions, and the great focus of light, learning, and wealth for all Frisia. Here the Danes committed great ravages, pillaging the town and slaughtering its inhabitants. They then passed on to Kynemarca (*i.e.*, the Dutch province of Kennemerland), where they destroyed the church of St. Adelbert the Confessor; cut off the head, as it is said, of the holy Jero at Noirtich (*i. e.*, Noortwyk op Zee), and ruined the very strong castle of Aurundel, near Varenburg (*i.e.*, the rude old castle at Voorburg, formerly called Hadriani Forum, near Leyden). They slaughtered a great number of the inhabitants, including Theobald and Gerald (doubtless two of the chief inhabitants), and carried off many of the women and children into captivity (Magnum Chron. Belgicum, *ap. Pist.* 65; Kruse, 119).

This attack was doubtless directed against what Eric and

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his people must have deemed the traitorous colony, the pestilent pretenders to his throne, the servile creatures of the empire. It was repeated the next year when they again ravaged Dorestadt, whereupon the Emperor Louis, who no doubt began to fear for his own borders, repaired to Aachen, and set the maritime or coast guards in order (Prudent. Trecen., Pertz, 1, 429; Annales Xantenses, Pertz, 2, 226; Kruse, 121).

In 836 the Danes (one account says, in conjunction with the Saxons, probably the Nordalbingians, Kruse, 125), once more ravaged Dorestadt and Frisia. On this occasion they burnt the town of Antwerp and a trading mart at the mouth of the Maas, which the chronicler calls Witla, and which Kruse identifies, with some probability, with Briel (*op. cit.* 123). Then mounting the Scheldt, they reached the town of Doorne (Turinum), where was situated the monastery of St. Fredegand. There they burnt and destroyed the monastery, killed part of its inmates, and carried off the rest; but the relics of the saint had meanwhile, we are assured, been transferred to a place of safety. They then went to Mechlin, laid waste the church of St. Rumold, and devastated the town with fire and sword. If we are to believe the life of St. Gommar, when the Danes came to that monastery and set fire to the roof, it was miraculously put out. This only increased the anger of the pirates, who broke into the church and killed the priest Fredegar at the altar. The same work goes on to say that as they bore off the booty to their ships, two of their chiefs, named Reolfus and Reginarius, came to an untimely end. Reolfus burst his stomach, and his bowels fell out; and Reginarius, being deprived of his eyes, perished miserably.

This story we derive from the life of St. Gommar, abstracted by Franc. Haræus (Ann. Brabant, 1, 67; see Langebek, 1, 519; Kruse, 125). It is singularly interesting, and although we crave permission entirely to doubt the story of the death of the two chiefs as related, we have, there can be small doubt, an otherwise truthful record; and

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the names, especially, I believe to be most authentic. I shall revert to them on another occasion. I would remark that in this invasion the Danes clearly overstepped the limits of the fief which had been granted to Harald, and crossed the imperial borders. A reason for this we get in the narrative of Prudentius of Troyes, Pertz, 1, 430. We thence learn that this very year Eric sent envoys to the placitum which Louis held at Worms in September, to complain that some of his envoys had been put to death near Cologne. These envoys secured the punishment of the offenders, and Eric, in his turn, punished the Danes who had ravaged the Rhine borders (Depping, 83 ;. but see Kruse, 124).

In 837 we find the sea rovers again attacking the fief of the Danish princes, and making a descent on the island of Walchra, *i. e.*, Walcheren, where they killed Eggihard or Eckhart, the count of the district, and Hemming, the son of Halfdene, "a most Christian chief" (dux Christianissimus he is called, and, as I believe, the brother of Harald), with many others. They again ravaged Dorestadt, and having collected black-mail or tribute from the Frisians, they retired (Thegani vita Ludovici, Pertz, 2, 604; Fuldensian Annals, Pertz, 1, 361; Prudent. Trec., Pertz, 1, 430; Kruse, 126, 127). Dorestadt had been a rare mine for the invaders, and we are told that many coins struck there have been found in Scandinavia (Depping, 83). On the news of this last invasion, the Emperor Louis, who had determined upon spending the winter in Italy, altered his plans and went to his palace at Nimvegen, not far from Dorestadt. There he held an inquiry into the conduct of those who had charge of the coasts, who explained that they were too weak, and had also been thwarted by their subordinates. He appointed certain counts and abbots to repress this insubordination, and to prepare a fleet to cruise on the coasts of Frisia (Prud. Trec., Pertz, 1, 430; Kruse, 127). But the weakness of the empire was at its very heart. It was the quarrels and dissensions of Louis' sons which really gave an easy access to it. The old man, in his

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various schemes of dividing the empire so as to find a portion for the child of his old age, Charles, and of his second wife, Judith, aroused the jealousy and hatred of his other sons.

In 838 the Emperor remained at Nimvegen, so as to overawe the invaders. They did not make an attack this year; but, according to Prudentius, it was because their fleet was dispersed by a storm (Kruse, 129). While Louis was at Attigny, envoys went to him from Eric asking that he would make over to him the country of the Frisians and the Obotriti. The former, as M. Kruse says, seems to have been treated by the Danish kings as a dependence of their empire, and was so treated especially by Godfred, the contemporary of Charlemagne; while a section of the Obotriti were colonists settled at the instance of that great sovereign in the country of the Nordalbingian Saxons, who were also more or less dependent on the Danish sovereigns. This claim of Eric's proves that he was becoming a much more important personage in European affairs, and also that the empire was rapidly weakening. It was treated, however, by the imperial authorities with contempt and disdain (Prud. Trec., Kruse, 129).

The following year (*i. e.*, in 839) Frisia was visited with its usual scourge, and as usual a distinction seems to have been made between this outlier of the empire and the empire itself, for the same year envoys went to the emperor from Eric, who were accompanied by the latter's nephew, doubtless the Gorm to whom I shall refer presently, who took presents with them and also ratified peace (Prud. Trec., Pertz, 1, 434—436; Kruse, 133, 134). This invasion is probably that dated wrongly in 840 in the Chron. Nortm (Kruse, 140); that notice is probably misplaced, and ought to be under 839. Dahlmann argues that at this time Harald was driven away from Rustringen, and with his brother Rurik retained only Dorestadt (1, 43).

It was about a year before his death (*i. e.*, in 839) that Louis le Débonnaire made the tenth of his dispositions of his empire

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among his sons, the tenth of those arrangements which were being constantly altered, and which became the seeds of so much bitter contention in later days. This his last testament was singularly unfair. His grandson Pepin, the darling of the Aquitanians, was excluded altogether; while the portion of his son Louis the German was almost, if not quite, restricted to Bavaria. The empire was to be virtually divided between Lothaire his eldest son and Charles the Bald, the child of his later years; and the old emperor offered Lothaire the choice of planning out the division and leaving the choice to Charles, or of leaving matters to be settled by himself. He left it to the decision of his father, who accordingly assigned to him all the lands beyond the Rhine and Maas, except Bavaria, together with various Burgundian districts, chiefly in modern Switzerland, modern Provence, and all beyond to Italy, the residue being given to Charles (Palgrave, 1, 307). The portion of Lothaire included, according to Prudentius of Troyes, the kingdom of Saxony, with its Marches, the duchy of Friesland as far as the Maas, the counties of Hamarlant, Batavia, and Testerbant, and Dorestadt (Kruse, 133). That is, it included the districts which had been granted to Harald and Ruric as appanages. The old emperor spent the few months which remained to him in suppressing the revolts of Pepin and Louis the German. He afterwards summoned a Diet at Worms, on the Feast of St. Rumbolt, the first day of July, 840. But, to quote the picturesque sentences of Palgrave, "the end was nigh. Louis le Débonnaire never saw any of his children again. At Frankfort on the Maine he stayed his progress; it was springtime, past Whitsuntide. The season had been rendered awful; on the eve of the Ascension the sun was totally eclipsed, and the stars shone with nocturnal brightness. His stomach refused nourishment, weakness and languor gained upon him; uneasy and seeking rest the sick man fancied that he would pass the approaching summer upon the island which dividing the heavily-gushing Rhine, is now covered by the picturesque towers of the Pfatlz; and he desired that a

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thatched lodge, or leafy hut, should be there prepared, such as had served for him when hunting in the forest, or as a soldier in the field. Lying on his couch, he longed for the soothing music of the gurgling waters and the freshness of the waving wind. Thither was he conveyed, his bark floating down from stream to stream. Many of the clergy were in attendance; amongst others, his brother, Archbishop Drogo, who at this time held the office of Archicapellanus; and Drogo received the last injunctions which the son of Charlemagne had to impart. His imperial crown and sword he gave to Lothaire, with the earnest request that he would be kind and true to Judith, the widowed empress, and keep his word and promise to his brother Charles. Dying of inanition, the bed of the humble and contrite sinner was surrounded by the priests, who continued in prayer with him and for him till he expired. He died on the third Sunday in June, and his corpse was removed to Metz and buried in the basilica of St. Arnolph, without the walls" (Palgrave, 1, 309). The weak and foolish old man, who was laid under the ground in the year 840, was the last sovereign who ruled over the entire heritage of Charlemagne. Its incongruous elements now fell asunder, and fell very naturally into fragments coincident largely with peculiarities of language, &c. It was well that the mere pretence which bound together Frenchmen and Germans, Italians and Aquitanians, under one government should cease. It was natural also, however, that in separating there should be many struggles about frontiers and about interests, but these inevitable evils were terribly intensified by the foolish testaments of the old emperor. The injustice perpetrated in many such documents is proverbially a source of bitter strife in private affairs; but there are few private individuals who make ten wills, and fewer still whose latter days are spent in providing for the child of the young mother out of the portions already assigned to the grown up sons of the first love. In his last will, Louis, as I have said, was grossly unjust to his son Louis, and the children of his son Pepin. Lothaire and Charles alone had reason to be satisfied with

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their portions; but Lothaire had a peculiarly tortuous character, and craft and double dealing were homely vices with him. He was everywhere acknowledged as emperor, and meant to make his power felt, and began by reinstating his partisan Ebbo, who had been deposed at a synod in 835, on the archiepiscopal throne at Rheims (Warnk, et Gerard *op. cit.* 71). He was also determined to make his brothers obey him, and to enrich himself at their expense. Louis, who knew him well, proceeded to enlarge his own borders, and besides his own Bavarians received the homage of the Allemanni, Saxons, Thuringians, and Franks (*id.* 73). But Lothaire collected such an imposing army that he was constrained to seek refuge in Bavaria. Meanwhile Lothaire had cajoled Charles into making a treaty with him by which his boundaries were to be considerably enlarged. The treaty was to have been signed at Attigny, and Charles went there on the 7th of May to await the emperor; but, instead of going, he treacherously made a league with Pepin the Second against him. Charles, in his turn, allied himself with Louis, and the two brothers made a junction of their forces on the left bank of the Marne, near Chalons. The ravages of the Danes pressed upon them, especially upon Charles (whose territory had mainly suffered), the policy of coming to terms, and negotiations were commenced; in good faith, says Palgrave, by Charles, but astutely by Lothaire, the former desiring a speedy peace, the latter seeking by procrastination to increase his forces, and profit by the pressure Charles was sustaining. Louis and Charles humbled themselves before Lothaire, but he interpreted their offers as symptoms of artifice or terror. Each succeeding proposal they made was rejected or evaded. Would Lothaire accept all they had in their camp? Money, gold, jewels, tents, equipments, stores, all except their horses and arms? Or, as we should say, allow them to retreat with the honours of war? Would he be satisfied with a large increase of territory, to be ceded by Louis and Charles, extending from the Ardennes to the Rhine? If this was unsatisfactory, let the whole of "France" be divided, and he should

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choose his share. Any reasonable concession to obtain quiet for Church and State, and prevent the shedding of Christian blood (Palgrave, *op. cit.* 1, 327, 328). But all was of no avail. Lothaire prolonged the discussion, and trifled with his brothers' offers, in order to secure time for the junction of the forces of his nephew Pepin, who was marching from Aquitaine. The latter at length arrived, and seeing there was no other issue to the strife, the two brothers at length challenged Lothaire—" solemnly summoned him to abide by the judgment of God. They and their host would meet him and his host in the valley on the following day at two hours after midnight when the dark twilight contends with the dawn ; they defied him " (*id.* 329). Thus was brought about the terrible fight of Fontenoy, one of the bloodiest and most eventful in the world's history, in which, according to tradition, 100,000 men fell.

The loss was terrible on either side, but Lothaire's army was completely beaten, and his troops fled in confusion. So crushing, however, was the victory, that Palgrave mentions how in Champagne, in order to prevent the extinction of the aristocracy, the law was altered so as to permit nobility to be inherited by maternal descent irrespective of the father's blood —a custom so different to that in other parts of Western Europe. Nor was there much rejoicing after the fight, but it was fitly followed by three days of humiliation, fasting, and prayer (Palgrave, 333). Thus did the descendants of Charlemagne open gaping wounds in the sides of the empire, where their eager enemies the northern pirates found a ready foothold.

The disappointment and chagrin of Lothaire vented themselves in a very characteristic way. He made overtures to certain of the subjects of Louis, namely, the still largely pagan Saxon peasants, and persuaded them to revolt against their feudal superiors. This revolt was known as that of the Stellinga. He promised them that their old laws and their old faith should be restored (Kruse, 141).

The royal historian, Count Nithard, Charlemagne's grand-

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son (?), tells us Lothaire also actually subsidized the Norsemen, and incited them to plunder the Christians; and it is not unlikely that the invasion made by Osker in 841 of the Seine country, which I shall describe in another paper, was incited by him. Nithard adds that Louis the German, who was afraid the Stellinga, among the Saxons, from their close relation to the Norsemen and Slaves, would be induced to revolt, attack the empire, and eradicate the Christian faith, held a conference on the subject with his brother Charles (Kruse, 142, 143). This close relation was doubtless due to their common paganism, rather than to any race affinity.

For some years the Dane Harald does not appear in the Annals, and it would seem from the narrative of Prudentius of Troyes, confirmed by Saxo (Kruse, 142), that he had relapsed to paganism, perhaps with the sanction, or even by the advice, of Lothaire; at all events, we are now told the latter granted him the isle of Walcheren (Gualacras) and other neighbouring districts (Kruse, 141), and thus added the mouth of the Scheldt to his other possessions in Rustringen and Dorestadt. He now probably dominated over the whole country inhabited by Frieslanders, from the Elbe to the Scheldt.

The treacherous and crafty Lothaire was irrepressible. Far from being crushed by the terrible fight at Fontenoy, we have seen him inciting a peasant war within the borders of the country of his brother Louis, and taking the cruel pirates into his service. To oppose him his two brothers Charles and Louis had again a conference at Strasburg. This was on the 14th of February, 842; the oaths then sworn are famous in the history of language. Louis and the troops of Charles swore in the Romance tongue, while Charles and the troops of Louis swore in German, or rather in Flemish. The words have been preserved by Count Nithard, and run thus: "In Gode's minna ind in thes Christianes folches ind unser bedhero gehaltnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizci indi madh furgibit, so haldih tesan minan bruodher, soso man mit rehtu sinan bruher scal, in thiu, thaz er

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mig so soma duo ; indi mit Ludheren in nohheiniu thing ne geganga, the minan willon imovce scadhen werhen" (Hist. des Carolingiens, Warnkœnig and Gerard, 2, 77, note).

The two brothers now marched against the emperor. From Strasburg they proceeded to Coblentz, and crossed the Moselle in their armed transports. We are told that Lothaire had posted Otgar, the Bishop of Mayence, Count Hatto, Harald (doubtless the Danish feudatory Harald), and others to defend this passage, but they were afraid, and retired, and Lothaire, who was then at the palace of Sinzig, near Coblentz, retired hastily, first to Troyes and then to Lyons (*id.* 1, 70 ; Nithard, Pertz, 2, 667 ; Kruse, 153).

Harald the exile, the godson of the Emperor Louis at Mayence, the rival of the Danish King Eric, now disappears from history. He seems to have died about this time.

We are told that after living on good terms with the Franks for many years, he was put to death by the Marchiones or Marquises, the custodians of the frontier, from a suspicion that he was having treacherous communications with his countrymen (Ruod. Fuld. Pertz, 1, 367 ; Kruse, 206).

He had lived a curiously romantic life, and is a prominent figure in the history of the ninth century. He was doubtless the Harald Klak of the Saga writers.

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JOHN OF JENSTEIN, ARCHBISHOP OF PRAGUE, 1378—1397.

BY THE REV. ALBERT H. WRATISLAW, A.M.,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

EVENTS in the history of one nation frequently bear a striking similarity to events in that of another. But along with the points of similarity, there are usually in such cases points of contrast also, which make the comparison more interesting than if the similarity had been complete. The life of Thomas à Becket, first the friend and chancellor, then Archbishop of Canterbury and the unyielding opponent of our Henry II., and his violent death before the altar of his cathedral, form one of the most remarkable episodes both in English history and in the history of the long struggle between the so-called temporal and spiritual powers, which is still continuing at the present day. Very singular also and interesting are both the points of similarity and the points of contrast presented by the life of John of Jenstein, Archbishop of Prague, towards the end of the fourteenth century, and his struggle with Wenceslas IV., King of Bohemia and King of the Romans, as compared with the life of Becket, and his contest with Henry II. of England.

Although few will be found to deny the palm of superiority to Becket as compared with John of Jenstein, and to Henry II. of England as compared with Wenceslas IV. of Bohemia, still so many singular circumstances combine, in the case of the two Bohemians, to render their contest interesting, that it will be well worth while to devote a little time to the consideration of the life and acts of the Bohemian Thomas à Becket.

Both Thomas à Becket and John of Jenstein would have

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come in their youth under the category of gay ecclesiastics; and both were converted—the former by change of station and the responsibilities of office, the latter by a severe illness —into thorough ascetics. Both commenced as friends and chancellors of their respective kings, and ended as their determined adversaries. But Thomas à Becket is generally supposed to have been actuated by a more single-minded zeal for the Church and its head, the Pope, than John of Jenstein, whose zeal was clearly rather for his own authority and his own prerogatives than for those of the see of Rome. Although it must be admitted that in Becket's days the Pope was one and powerful, while in those of John of Jenstein the great schism was at its height, the Papacy, split up between rival claimants, was greatly weakened in its authority, and indeed few could have felt really certain who was the true and veritable successor of Peter.

Again, Thomas à Becket both suffered and obtained canonization in his own person and on his own merits, whereas John of Jenstein suffered in the person of one of his most trusted friends and advisers, his General Vicar, who was eventually canonized; while John of Jenstein's own claims to canonization do not appear to have proceeded beyond the pages of his biography, written between 1402 and 1404 by an ardent admirer. Neither did the General Vicar himself obtain canonization on his own merits, but owing to a singular legend which became attached to his name, and eventually caused his division into two personages—the one legendary, the other historical, separated in date of death by the space of ten years, the former of which was solemnly canonized as late as 1729, after two long processes under commission from the Roman Curia.

John of Jenstein was son of Paul of Jenstein, a Bohemian "zeman," or esquire, who was chief notary (*notarius cameræ regis*) during great part of the reign of the Emperor Charles IV., King of Bohemia, *i. e.*, from 1351 to 1374. He was brought up in the lap of luxury in the house of his father, who was one of the most esteemed courtiers of the Emperor,

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and already when a boy was incumbent of seven different benefices. On the income of these he lived luxuriously during his student life, which he appears to have commenced and ended unusually early, and during which he studied first at Prague, and then at Padua, Boulogne, Montpellier, and Paris. At six-and-twenty, and apparently before he had completed his university course, he was nominated (1375) by Pope Gregory XI. to the bishopric of Meissen. The messenger who brought the news found him fast asleep at midday, so light and careless was the life he led. He never undertook the government of his diocese, neither did he ever reside at Meissen, but merely enjoyed the title and revenues of the see. Three years afterwards (1378) he was nominated successor to his uncle, John of Oczko, in the archbishopric of Prague. The Emperor Charles, a few days afterwards, appointed him chancellor to his son Wenceslas, whom he had associated as joint ruler with himself; and in the second year of Wenceslas's sole reign (1380) he became chancellor of the whole realm of Bohemia. A man of thoroughly worldly mind, John of Jenstein knew well how to obtain favour in the eyes of the young king, being like himself a passionate huntsman, and "in military and courtly exercises," to use the words of his biographer, "not liking to be last,—nay, endeavouring to surpass others."

But ere long a complete change took place in him. In the year 1380 he was stricken with a severe illness during what his biographer terms a "*pestis generalis*," from which he recovered, contrary to the expectations of his medical attendants, and from that time forth began to think of penitence for his previous thoughtless mode of life. Still more was he affected when in 1382 he heard of the awful death of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, who perished in the attempt to escape, on an outcry of fire being raised, from a ball-room in which he was dancing in the tight-fitting attire of a gallant of the day with ladies of rank. Henceforth he gave himself up to works of repentance so far as in him lay, spending his time in solitude, in prayer, in contemplation, and in writing,

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for which purposes he had small rooms fitted up in his castles of Raudnitz and Helfenburg, and also in a tower of his archiepiscopal palace at Prague, in which he did not allow himself the slightest comfort. His body he mortified with fasts frequent and severe, far beyond the ordinances of the Church; he chastised himself sometimes with rods, sometimes with thorny sticks; slept little, and that on a hard bed; allowed no fire in his room even in severe frosts, till at length he caused himself bodily ailments, and suffered from colic and rheumatism. He was also lavish in almsgiving beyond the limits which good sense would have imposed. Devoting thus overmuch time to himself, he was behindhand with many of the most especial duties of his pastoral office, withdrawing as he did not only from clerical society, but also from people who came to consult him in their necessities, for which he is severely reprehended in the writings of Matthias of Janow. Nothing was more annoying to him than to be called away from his devotions, and he was frequently so morose and impatient that his councillors, officials, and servants sometimes found themselves in very difficult circumstances when anything occurred to thwart him. Moreover his humility, exhibited in prayers and penitential works, did nothing towards the eradication of self-conceit and ambition from his heart, so that he entertained an unusually high estimate of his spiritual power, which, in accordance with the conceptions then dominant among the clergy, he confounded with the worldly power and wealth of the clerical body. Thus he looked upon every opposition to what he considered his rights, everything that touched the property or revenues of his archbishopric, as an injury to God's ordinance, and deserving to be punished with the whole force and energy of ecclesiastical law. But he never ceased to delight in external splendour around him, considering it a thing which his dignity required; nor did any of his predecessors equal him in the maintenance of a magnificent court, consisting of knights, esquires, and other servants, whom he supported at very great expense to himself.

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During the whole time of his life as archbishop he was more or less involved in disputes with his clergy, both with individuals and corporate bodies, in which he was sometimes in the right and sometimes in the wrong, but always oversensitive and touchy towards any invasion of what he deemed his rights. His first dispute was with the Archdeacon of Prague, in which he was successful; his second with the chapter of his own cathedral, the result of which is unknown. In 1383 he was at loggerheads with the archdeacons of his diocese; and in 1384 with the chapter of the Vyssegrad concerning some private affairs, in which he nevertheless betook himself to the ecclesiastical armoury. Somewhat later he had a dispute with the Pope's collectors, on account of which he was excommunicated himself in 1387, shut himself up in his tower at Prague all Palm Sunday and Passion Week, and did not venture to perform divine service in public.

One very laudable action was performed by Archbishop John of Jenstein for the benefit of the serfs attached to the archbishopric. A custom contrary to ancient law had commenced before his time, causing the patrimony of childless peasant farmers to escheat to the archbishop as lord of the manor, instead of going to their surviving relatives. Archbishop John put an end to this usage, and restored his peasant tenants their former freedom, in spite of objections raised by several members of the chapter of Prague.

Less meritorious was his conduct in a dispute with the learned Magister Albert. John of Jenstein was especially devoted to the worship of the mother of God, introduced the new festival of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary into his diocese, and wrote pamphlets in defence of it. Magister Albert, like his younger friend Matthias of Janow, was opposed to the excessive multiplication of festivals, and set forth his opinion on the subject in writing. The archbishop replied in a very passionate tone, nor would he allow the magister rest even on his death-bed. When Magister Albert fell sick unto death in 1388, he sent the provost of Raudnitz

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to warn him to desist from his blasphemies against the Virgin Mary, or dread her anger. And when the magister died on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, he interpreted this as the fulfilment of his warning.

It was impossible that a man of such a temperament could long retain the friendship of King Wenceslas IV., who was passionate and headstrong, and equally touchy as regards his real or supposed rights. After John of Jenstein had been converted from a man of the world into a solitary devotee, various collisions took place between them, sometimes relating to the private rights of the archbishopric, and sometimes respecting the relations of the temporal and spiritual powers. With regard to these quarrels W. W. Tomek remarks, in his History of Prague,* that "although we have for the most part one-sided accounts of these collisions proceeding from Archbishop John himself, yet it is plain that he did not always conduct himself righteously in them, either appropriating what did not appertain to him, or commencing the process of obtaining his rights by violence when he ought to have proceeded in due form of law."

The first dispute of any magnitude with the king occurred in 1384. King Wenceslas's under-marshal, John Czuch of Zasada, had begun to construct a weir for the purpose of fishing in the Elbe at Lobkovitz under Kosteletz, in the neighbourhood of the archbishop's estate at Neratovitz. The archbishop, who claimed the river in these parts as his own, saw injury therein to his fisheries, and, instead of taking legal proceedings, caused his servants to destroy the weir by force. Czuch complained to the king, who appears to have been already irritated against the archbishop on account of other lesser matters. The king summoned the archbishop to Karlstein, kept him there several days under arrest, and ordered in the meantime his estates to be plundered as a punishment for his high-handed conduct. Cattle, corn, and other things were taken, and damage done which the archbishop estimated at 6,000 kops of groschen.† Czuch

* Vol. iii., p. 362.

† A kop is threescore.

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reconstructed his weir, and made use of it henceforth without let or hindrance. King Wenceslas, in consequence of this affair, deprived the archbishop of the chancellorship of the realm, and even—either at this very time or somewhat later—carried on negotiations with Pope Urban with the view of depriving John of Jenstein of his see.

Soon afterwards the archbishop had a dispute with the citizens of Leitmeritz respecting the rights of his subjects, the citizens of Raudnitz. According to the contention of the archbishop the people of Raudnitz had had, from time out of mind—at any rate during the time of his three predecessors,—the right of conveying corn free of toll in boats from Bohemia to the German districts lower down the Elbe. On the other hand, the people of Leitmeritz had an ancient privilege confirmed by the late Emperor Charles IV., according to which all goods passing down the Elbe as far as their town ought to be deposited in it; and in accordance with this privilege they prevented the people of Raudnitz from sailing past. The archbishop took the part of his subjects in the manner usual in those days when any assault was made upon ecclesiastical property—that is, by excommunication and laying an interdict on the town of Leitmeritz. The king came to the aid of the citizens of Leitmeritz, and refused to allow the archbishop to be judge in his own cause. At his request the archbishop removed the excommunication, and the king agreed to the appointment of an extraordinary judge, or "conservator," whom the archbishop requested and obtained from the Pope. This judge was the Scottish abbot at Vienna, who, after some years, gave sentence against the people of Leitmeritz, who, however, appealed to the Pope and obtained another judge, which they could scarcely have succeeded in doing without exhibiting good grounds for the new trial. Meanwhile they remained in possession of their alleged right, which was confirmed by King Wenceslas in a charter dated Feb. 11, 1391. The archbishop estimated the damage to himself and his town of Raudnitz at 30,000 florins.

Meanwhile the archbishop considered it an injury when,

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with the licence of the king, two rows of houses were built by the wall of the archbishop's palace on the Klemscite of Prague; and also took umbrage at the refusal—no doubt on public grounds—to allow some houses close to the bridge at Prague, which paid him rent and which had been burnt down, to be rebuilt. He had also had a dispute ever since 1386 with the Town Council of the Old Town of Prague about a ferry over the Moldau below the town, of which, as he supposed, they had taken possession at the secret instigation of the king. The archbishop excommunicated them several times, but was obliged to withdraw the excommunication at the instance of the king, who commanded the Town Council to pay the money obtained from the ferry over to a sequestrator appointed for the purpose until the case should be finally determined. For some reason which has not come down to us, Archbishop John had also a dispute with a gentleman in the king's service named Dietrich Hes, of Malow, who formally defied him, and commenced to do damage on the estates of the archbishopric; and the king himself was said to have sent armed men to his assistance. This dispute lasted some months, until the archbishop was obliged to submit it to the decision of Bishop John of Litomysl, who decided against him, so that the archbishop was obliged to pay 50 kops to Hes without obtaining any redress for the damage he had sustained. He received similar treatment in a dispute with Terak, the king's burggrave at Kugelwait, who without any defiance proceeded to lift cattle on the archiepiscopal estate at Rokytzany. The archbishop complained to the king, who expressed his sorrow at the event, and said that it had been done without his knowledge. But as the king was not sufficiently active and energetic in causing justice to be done, the archbishop lost patience, and sent his armed retainers to requite the damage he had sustained. At this the king became exceedingly angry, ordered the archbishop's men to be pursued, and caused him still greater injury than he had previously sustained.

It is extremely probable that when ill-will had arisen

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between the king and the archbishop, the courtiers, especially the chief confidants or so-called "favourites" of the former, egged him on still more by various insinuations against the clergy; while, on the other hand, the archbishop was encouraged in his unconciliatory attitude by his chief officials, those "great canons of his," as Matthias of Janow designated them, who sought to obtain his favour by the most violent support of the privileges and rights of the ecclesiastical order. The greatest incentive to dispute was given by the exemption of spiritual persons of even the lowest grade from the secular tribunals. These men, exhibiting as they did in their mode of life scarcely any difference from the laity, frequently drew the eyes of justice upon themselves by various misdemeanours, while yet they could not be duly punished like other people. Relying upon the feeling adverse to the clergy, which was dominant at court, the lay officials began more frequently than before to disregard the exceptional position of spiritual persons in such cases. Thus, some time in the beginning of the year 1392, a student, who was a cleric, was arrested for some crime in the New Town of Prague and beheaded by order, or at any rate with the approval of the king's under-treasurer, Sigismund Huler—an event which the archbishop's officer allowed to pass in silence. Again, early in 1393 another cleric was arrested in the New Town, and not only not surrendered to the archbishop, who wanted to take him into his own custody, but was actually burnt by order of the under-treasurer. The nature of the crimes committed by these men is unknown, but in the records of the New Town of that date mention is made of a cleric named Dietrich, who was proved guilty both by evidence and his own confession of robbing a church at Holubitz of chalices, patens, a cross, and a monstrance with holy relics. If this were not one of the crimes in question, they were probably of a still darker dye.

On occasion of the latter of these two circumstances Archbishop John of Jenstein paid no regard to the cause of condemnation, but merely to the encroachments of the

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temporal power, and determined to commence a resolute resistance. He first gave in to King Wenceslas a written complaint, through the king's council, in his own name and that of the whole clergy of his diocese, embracing everything that had been done against himself or his views, and requested amends to be made. The archbishop complained, with regard to the secular authorities, that they dragged spiritual persons before their tribunals, making thereby especial mention of the clerics arrested in the New Town; alleged as a grievance that he was hindered in the execution of his judicial power, and particularly in the proclamation of his own and the Pope's excommunications, giving as an instance that not long previously the person engaged in executing an order of the Pope's had been dragged through the church of St. James, wounded even unto effusion of blood, and afterwards detained for a considerable time in secular ward in the town hall, whereby he said the church was desecrated and the sacraments dishonoured; affirmed that many persons were inducted into benefices without reference to his office by the mere will of the king, they defending their conduct upon the ground of some permission unknown to him, which had been granted to the king by the Pope; complained of the want of free will in marriage, maidens being, as he said, compelled to marry against their will, and also of the oppressive treatment of widows and orphans, and the wrong done to the clergy by the refusal of the king's officials to admit their rights of inheritance; and also in the prohibition of the sale of landed estates to the clergy, and interception of such estates into the king's hands, with regard to which he said he did not know by what authority it was done, there being a universally known law of the Emperor Charles in that behalf; complained of the manner in which conventual institutions were oppressed by subsidies and other burdens; and of the contempt in which the clergy in general were held, so that even the Jews, the enemies of Christ, enjoyed a better position; adjuring the king to amend all these great and manifold evils, to order the restora-

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tion of the estates taken from the clergy, to punish the guilty, and to hold a protecting hand over the rights and liberties of the clergy as his humble chaplains. He entreated him finally, if there were any of his councillors who desired to bring the clergy into odium with him, not to believe them, but to esteem them deceitful persons, the greatest enemies of his salvation, his honour, and that of the whole realm—yea, the enemies of God, the servants of the devil, and the emissaries of Antichrist.

The finale of this document shows at once that the archbishop had no expectation of a gracious reception of his plaint, at any rate on the part of the king's councillors, to whom he delivered it. To save appearances he allowed a few days to pass, and then proceeded to more energetic measures. That is to say, he issued through his officers—the official Nicholas Puchnik, and the General Vicar John of Pomuk—a citation to the king's under-treasurer, Sigismund Huler, to appear before his tribunal to answer not merely for the execution of the two clerics in the New Town of Prague, but also for alleged words and actions which savoured of heresy. Huler replied that he would appear, but with two hundred lances. Thereupon the archbishop excommunicated him for contumacy. Hence arose great anger on the part of the king, of Margrave Prokop, who was then his assistant in the government of the realm, and who especially interested himself on the side of Huler, and also of all the courtiers opposed to the clergy. They were exasperated not merely against the archbishop himself, but more especially against Puchnik, Pomuk, and some of his other chief councillors. But as yet the king curbed his anger. It only appears that on account of the excommunication issued against Huler, he deemed it necessary to order all the royal towns to renew their oath of obedience and fidelity to him as his under-treasurer.

By a bull given at Rome on January 15, 1393, Pope Boniface IX. appointed, in compliance with King Wenceslas's request preferred two years previously, a special year of

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jubilee for Bohemia and the other Crown lands, a thing which the king regarded as a great and special token of consideration. The indulgence thereby granted was as full and complete as that enjoyed by all those who had performed the pilgrimage to Rome in 1390. Whoever desired to obtain it was required to visit four churches appointed for the purpose; if a citizen of Prague, fifteen times; if he had come from any other place, seven times. Secondly, to confess to one of twenty-four or more confessors to be specially appointed by the Archbishop of Prague or his General Vicar; by the Pope's legate, Ubaldino, or his General Vicar; and by the receiver of the revenues of the apostolic treasury in Bohemia or his representative. Thirdly, in lieu of the trouble he would have had in travelling to Rome, to perform such works of charity as his confessor should enjoin. And fourthly, to deposit as much money as his journey to Rome and back would have cost him, and the amount that he would have had to offer in the churches there appointed for the purpose, upon the altar or altars designated for the purpose in the church of the Vyssegrad. The amount of this was to be determined by the receiver of the money, who was to be appointed by the archbishop and the other persons above named, and who was to have power to relieve the poor of the whole or part of the payments. Half this money was to go to the church of the Vyssegrad for building or other requirements, and the other half to be sent to Rome for similar purposes. The year of grace was to commence on the fourth Sunday in Lent (*i. e.*, on March 16 of that year), and to continue till the elevation of the Holy Cross (*i. e.*, till September 14).

But not long after the arrival of the Pope's bull at Prague, a new matter arose between the king and archbishop, which brought the ill-will long smouldering between them into full blaze. King Wenceslas had long had in contemplation to obtain from the Pope the erection of a new bishopric in Bohemia, and had intended to divert the revenues of the Benedictine monastery at Kladruby to its endowment, even

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as formerly, at the foundation of the bishopric of Litomysl, the monastery of the Præmonstratensians at Litomysl had been incorporated with it. The king was also particularly desirous of rewarding one of his favourite court chaplains with the new see. There is no doubt that this intention was no secret, and must have been perfectly well known to the archbishop. The king was only waiting for the death of Ratsek, the aged abbot of Kladruby, to whom it was his intention that no successor should be appointed. But the erection of a new bishopric, however desirable on public grounds, and the consequent diminution of the Archbishopric of Prague, was not agreeable to the archbishop and his consistory, and their resolution was to prevent the execution of the king's intention. When, therefore, Abbot Ratsek died—it is not known on what day, but probably at the very end of February or beginning of March—the monks of Kladruby proceeded to the election of his *locum tenens*, Olenus, as abbot, before March 7, and Archbishop John, without a word to the king, caused a limited time to be set for objections to the election ; and no opponent having appeared, the General Vicar, John of Pomuk, gave the new abbot the archbishop's confirmation of his election on March 10.

As soon as King Wenceslas learnt this, his anger against the archbishop knew no bounds, and directed itself also against his chief councillors, whom he suspected of having instigated him to take the course he had adopted. The king was then residing at Zebrak, which he quitted for Prague with the most wrathful intentions. Hearing of this, the archbishop's official, Nicholas Puchnik, and his General Vicar, John of Pomuk, immediately fled from Prague to Raudnitz, where the archbishop was then residing. This was about March 15. Shortly after there arrived letters from some of the king's council urging the archbishop to come to Prague. He was afraid so to do ; nevertheless by the advice of Puchnik and John of Pomuk, as well as of his steward, Nepr of Raupow, he betook himself with them to a certain place (possibly Kyje) which belonged to the archbishopric, only a

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Bohemian mile distant from Prague. At this place there came to him two of the king's confidants, Brother Nicholas, the king's confessor, and John Czuch of Zasada, the under-marshal, who greatly urged him to come to Prague to negotiate with the king about a reconciliation, promising him personal safety both in their own names and in that of the king's high steward, Henry Skopek of Duba. From King Wenceslas they delivered the archbishop a letter, which certainly gave him no ground to expect any good. It was written in German, and was worded, "Thou archbishop! give me back my castle of Raudnitz and my other castles, and depart from my land of Bohemia. And if thou shalt attempt aught against me or mine, I will drown thee, and put an end to the dispute. Come to Prague!" But the king's councillors, whom the archbishop entertained with meat and drink, diminished the harsh impression conveyed by the letters by saying, that although the king was exceedingly angry, yet he would be glad to see and negotiate with the archbishop, that henceforth there might be peace between him and the king, and between his people and the king's people. Eventually the archbishop gave in to these arguments, and betook himself to Prague with his confidants on the 18th of March.

On the next day, March 19, an appointment was made with him for a conference for negotiating a reconciliation with the king, the Margrave Prokop, and the under-treasurer Hulet, to which both the king and the archbishop sent several of their councillors. These settled the terms of an agreement respecting all matters in dispute affecting the king and Huler, but adjourned the questions that had arisen between the archbishop and Margrave Prokop. This agreement was to be solemnly confirmed the next day, March 20, at a personal meeting of the king and archbishop. To this end the king betook himself with his court to the monastery of St. Mary belonging to the Knights of St. John at the end of the bridge, as being near the residence of the archbishop on the Kleinseite, and the archbishop presented himself before him

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with his councillors and the rest of his suite. But as soon as the king caught sight of the archbishop and those of his officials whom he especially disliked, anger took such complete possession of him that he refused to listen to a word about the agreement made with his councillors to whom he had previously given plenipotentiary powers, and stormed against the archbishop with all the fury of his passionate nature which was also perhaps inflamed by wine. "Thou archbishop," said he, "thou excommunicatest my officers without my knowledge, and hast confirmed the Abbot of Cladrub. Thou accusest my under-treasurer of heresy and error. Thou hast asked no question, and dost it arbitrarily. Know that thou shalt mourn for this!" Then espying the archbishop's steward, the Knight Nepr, he cried out against him also, "Away with thee hence, or I will break thy head." And forthwith he commanded his men, "Seize for me these four," that is the archbishop, Nicholas Pucnik, John of Pomuk, and Wenceslas, the Provost of Meissen, "and conduct them carefully." At the same time he threatened several: "Thee and thee will I have drowned," and commanded them to be conducted to the chapter house at the cathedral in the Hradschin; there would he ascertain by whose counsel this or that had been done. The archbishop, in utter terror at this language, endeavoured by humbling himself to assuage the king's wrath, and knelt down several times before him. But the king mocked and mimicked him, bending his knees as if about to kneel. Thereupon the archbishop appears to have been rescued by his armed retainers, and conveyed in safety to his own house, but the others were led away according to the king's orders to the chapter house.

The king followed them thither, and began to deal evilly with all who had opposed him. He gave the old Dean of Prague, Bohuslaw, several blows on the head with the hilt of his sword till the blood flowed, and caused him afterwards to be taken with his hands tied behind his back to the burggrave's house on the Hradschin. He then, probably because his inquiries had not led to the desired result, caused the first three

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to be arrested, and with them the aged Nepr, the archbishop's steward, to be conducted down from the Hradschin to the town hall of the Old Town, and thence to the justice-room and kept asking all the time for the archbishop, whether they had him also, thinking especially to vent his wrath upon him. The king went again in person to the justice-room of the Old Town, and there, it being already evening, ordered the executioner to bind the four captives hand and foot, and caused two of them, Puchnik and Pomuk, to be tortured before his own eyes, by being burned with torches and lighted tapers in the side and elsewhere,—ay, even in his fury burned them with his own hands, and finally commanded all four to be drowned. He then recollected himself; in all probability it suddenly occurred to him that such assaults on persons of priestly station might have disagreeable consequences at the Court of the Pope. He therefore required the four prisoners to make him a promise, confirmed by oath, not to tell any one that they had been arrested and tortured, and on that condition promised to grant them life. Nicholas Puchnik, Wenceslas the Provost of Meissen, and the Knight Nepr did this, and subscribed a document drawn up for the purpose by the public notary. But the fourth, the General Vicar, John of Pomuk, was so injured, and in particular one of his sides was so burnt, that his life was hopeless, and therefore any acknowledgment on his part would have been useless to the king. He therefore caused him to be taken away to death. He was dragged through the streets to the bridge, there his hands were tied behind him, a piece of wood was thrust into his mouth, his feet were tied to his head in the form of a wheel, and he was thrown into the river Moldau about the third hour of the night, or, as we should say, about nine o'clock in the evening.

Meanwhile Archbishop John remained for several hours in his palace. But when he heard that the dean had been wounded, and his confidential councillors taken to the justice-room, he dreaded evil and fled secretly from Prague. It was the king's intention to arrest him, only he did not quite like

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to make a forcible attack upon the archiepiscopal residence, but he placed watchmen in several places to seize him, if possible without noise, when attempting to escape. To this end all the ferries over the Moldau at Prague were stopped for several days, so that none could pass by them from one side to the other; and precautions were taken against the escape of the archbishop at all the gates, and in various places outside the city. Proclamation was also made throughout all Prague, that no priest or cleric was to walk in the streets at night, or the priest would be arrested, while a cleric of inferior rank would lose his hand. But the archbishop was already out of the town, and had betaken himself to one of his most distant castles, Supihora, on the frontier beyond Töplitz. There he arrived in great terror after a difficult and dangerous journey of five days and nights, and then, and not till then, did he hear of the torture of his officials and the drowning of John of Pomuk.

Meanwhile the excessive fury of the king passed away, and he began to think of the consequences which his over-hasty actions might have, and how best to avert them. Eventually ascertaining that the archbishop had secured himself by flight, and was at Supihora, he determined to seek a reconciliation with him, and sent one of his courtiers, Lord Henry Pluk of Rabstein, to him, with two canons of Prague, requesting him by them to return to Prague, promising to submit the dispute to the decision of the archbishop's own chapter, and sending beforehand a safe-conduct for the archbishop himself and his suite. They were to tell him that the king was sorry for what had happened, and greatly grieved thereat; if he had done wrong, he wished to amend it and give satisfaction according to the decision that should be pronounced, even if he had to kneel on his knees before the archbishop. They were to say that, if the archbishop showed any disinclination to this, the king would become desperate and do much evil. If then he had any mercy, let him accept his penitence. But besides this the year of jubilee just granted was of great importance to the king; for all sins confessed were remitted by

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it, and also church censures incurred through them, without excepting even excommunications, greater or lesser, and interdicts. As its commencement, appointed by the Pope for March 16, had fallen on the time when the archbishop was not at Prague, and his official and General Vicar had fled to him at Raudnitz on account of the king's anger, the proclamation of the year of jubilee had been made hurriedly and defectively, not having been issued in the name of the archbishop or the legate Ubaldino or their vicars, who had been named in the Pope's bull in the first instance, but merely by Wenceslas Potulanus, a canon of Prague, the receiver of the Pope's treasury, and another canon of Prague, Peter of Wserub, who was not alluded to in the bull. Nevertheless the year of jubilee commenced at the appointed time, and King Wenceslas performed the prescribed acts of devotion, and in consequence obtained absolution, by which he was released from all fear of ecclesiastical censures on account of his late conduct.

Archbishop John, not forgetting the danger from which he had barely escaped, was at first doubtful whether or no to return to Prague at the king's request. Not till after much persuasion on the part of the king's ambassadors did he make up his mind and agree that the chapter should deal with the question of a reconciliation between himself and the king, saying that he would set forth his articles of complaint for consideration, and the king should set forth his. The ambassadors immediately asked him of what nature these articles would be, and he replied in the strain and nearly in the words of the letter of complaint previously delivered to the king's council, besides requiring full powers to "fulminate excommunications" without let or hindrance, and demanding full satisfaction and payment of damages from the king. On hearing this the ambassadors laughed outright, well knowing that the king's penitence did not extend far enough for him to submit to the archbishop in everything, and said that those were serious matters, and counselled the archbishop to have patience, thus throwing cold water on his hopes. However,

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he agreed to go to Prague if the king would grant him the escort of those lords whom he named for the journey there and back. To this the king agreed, although he did not grant the escort of the three lords named by the archbishop, but assigned him three others, and sent the archbishop a safe-conduct by them. This satisfied him, and he came to Prague on March 29, the Saturday before Palm Sunday.

On the next day the negotiations were recommenced in the Monastery of the Mother of God, at the end of the bridge. Several of the king's councillors were deputed by him for the purpose. Here the archbishop learned, contrary to his expectations, that his own chapter, which ought to have mediated, had neither the wish nor the resolution to take his part, for fear of the king. He had a preliminary conversation with some of the canons, wishing to come to an understanding with them as to how they should act; but they declined to come to any such understanding, reserving to themselves their own right of judgment, and afterwards held with the king's council in all respects. Before considering the question of a reconciliation with the king himself, the archbishop had to come to terms with the under-treasurer Huler, and with Margrave Prokop. On behalf of Huler it was demanded that the archbishop should take no further proceedings against him for the execution of the two clerics; that, as regards the proceedings taken by his vicar, he should say that they were taken without his knowledge; and that as regards the charge of heresy he should say, "What I did to him, I did at the instigation of others, I now voluntarily allow it to drop." To Margrave Prokop the archbishop was obliged to give up the usufruct of certain estates in Moravia for three years, with respect to the reasons for demanding which we have no means of forming a judgment, being entirely ignorant of the nature of the dispute between the parties. The archbishop long resisted, but eventually yielded this concession, and in his apology to Huler at first insisted on omitting the word "voluntarily," but at last consented to utter it, bethinking himself while doing so that he was only letting

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the prosecution drop for the time, but in future would not leave the conduct of the under-treasurer unpunished. When, therefore, the under-treasurer according to agreement offered him his hand and begged him to pardon him, the archbishop took his hand and said, "I forgive thee whatsoever thou hast done against me," but thought meanwhile that what the under-treasurer had done against God was not affected thereby. A personal reconciliation with Margrave Prokop took place on March 31, when a meeting was arranged for the next day at eight o'clock in the morning for a personal reconciliation with the king.

The archbishop, as had been agreed, on coming into the king's presence made obeisance and requested the king to pardon him if he had done aught against him. He expected that the king also would humble himself and promise satisfaction for his evil deeds. But the king did nothing of the kind, but simply told him for the future not to issue excommunications against his officers without his knowledge; and moreover required the archbishop to proclaim the year of jubilee anew in due form, and recommend it to the people. This the archbishop did, so that the proclamation now went forth in his name and the names of the other persons designated in the Pope's bull.

After this reconciliation, such as it was, the king betook himself to the Abbey of Zbraslaw, while the archbishop remained in Prague and performed the usual Easter rites and ceremonies. But now, in consequence of the fresh proclamation of the year of indulgence, it began to be noised about in Prague that the irregularity of the first proclamation rendered everything previous to the second proclamation invalid. Several priests spoke in their pulpits to this effect, and when the king returned to Prague on Easter Sunday (April 6) he was informed that the archbishop had caused it to be so given out himself. At this the king was again greatly exasperated, because his own pilgrimages, having been previously performed, were thus rendered inoperative. He sent four of his privy councillors to the archbishop to

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reproach him for this, and inquire why he had done it. The archbishop replied that he had neither done any such thing himself, nor advised the preachers to do it. The king sent Brother Nicholas, then Bishop of Lavant, and Ubaldino, the Pope's legate, to him again, requiring him to give him a letter under his own seal stating that the year of jubilee was valid before the second proclamation; and at the same time betook himself to the Monastery of the Mother of God, and there awaited his answer. The archbishop refused, nor was it till after a great deal of persuasion that he summoned his secretary and ordered him to write merely that he had not given orders for the declaration of the invalidity of the year of indulgence previously to his own proclamation of it. This was not satisfactory to the king's ambassadors, and therefore many lords and gentlemen then present with the archbishop sought to induce him to cause the letter to be written as the king required. Finally, as it was growing late, they prevailed upon him to go to bed and leave the matter in the hands of his secretary, who wrote the letter in accordance with the king's wishes. The archbishop was afterwards informed that if the king had failed to obtain the letter from him, he would that night have made an attack on him and his servants with a large body of armed men, which he had ready in the town-hall of the Old Town, and that neither the late reconciliation, nor the safe-conduct, nor the lords appointed for his protection, who were still with him, would have been of any avail to him.

The next day—that is, Easter Monday, April 7—the king returned to Zebrak, and the archbishop to Raudnitz. Meanwhile the estates in Moravia were not surrendered to Margrave Prokop, because the chapter, to whom the archbishop had assigned the duty in a very dubious manner, in all probability hesitated until it received more definite powers from him. The archbishop's adversaries now complained to the king again, that he would not fulfil the conditions of the reconciliation which had been agreed upon. The archbishop learning that the king was again enraged and threatening

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him, wrote him a letter of excuse, saying that he did not know in what manner and form to *alienate* those estates from the Church. The king stopped short at the word "*alienate*," apparently not understanding its exact effect, and said to the messenger that he did not desire to "*alienate*" any estates from the Church, and if any of his council affirmed that he did, he lied in his throat. He then said, "Take the archbishop my service and grace, and let him come to Prague to exhibit the imperial relics and ornaments (*risske swatosti*) to the people and pilgrims." The day of the exhibition of these things, *i.e.*, the Friday after the first Sunday after Easter, which the Germans call "White Sunday" and the Bohemians "Procession Sunday" (April 18), was now approaching.

At this gracious summons the archbishop came to Prague, conducted the usual exhibition, which had been instituted by Charles IV., a great collector of relics, true and false, and performed the usual services and ceremonies. The next day he was about to depart early, but while he was still sitting at breakfast an order came to him from the Bishop of Lavant and Sigismund Huler, the under-treasurer, bidding him not to depart, for they had a message to him from the king. Ere long they arrived themselves, and informed him, firstly that the king had given his consent to the surrender of the estates in Moravia to his cousin Prokop; secondly, that it was the wish and will of the king that the archbishop and his chapter should assent to the erection of the Abbey of Kladruby into a bishopric, and that the archbishop should write to the Pope to that effect. Archbishop John requested time for consultation with his chapter, and on the next day (April 20) the canons gave their assent in accordance with the king's wishes, and the ambassadors went with it to the archbishop, desiring the same from him. In vain did he allege in excuse that he could not do this with honour, as he had already regularly confirmed the new abbot. The bishop and under-treasurer told him that the abbot ought to surrender his dignity into the king's hands. In addition

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to this they suddenly laid before him another requirement on the part of the king. That is to say, the king now raised a claim—it is difficult to understand on what grounds—to the patronage of all rectories in Prague, and some not in Prague, and required the archbishop to refer the legal decision of the question to the Bishop of Lavant and the Dean of the Vyssegrad, Wenceslas Burenitz, who was one of the king's privy councillors and especial confidants.

Evidently the audacity of the king was increasing daily, in consequence of the terror of the archbishop and the submissiveness of his chapter, so that he set no bounds to his arbitrary will and pleasure in dealing with him. His aim was to render all the clergy in the metropolis dependent on him and his favour. The archbishop looked upon the matter in that light; but was again urged, especially by the dignitaries of the cathedral of Prague, to fulfil the king's will. Besides this, he was also informed that the king was about to require him to bind himself with sureties to keep perpetual silence with regard to all that had happened between them, and never to raise any legal question respecting it either before the Pope or in any other way—nay, intelligence was brought him of reiterated threats on the part of the king to drown still more of them, and among these he was himself to be the first. He now began to think of flight, and in order to get safely out of Prague promised to act in accordance with the king's will. Having thus contented the king's ambassadors, he withdrew at once to his castle of Raudnitz. Once there, he revoked the appointment of the Bishop of Lavant and the Dean of Vyssegrad as judges in the patronage question, and informed them that he reserved for himself the right of acting as judge in any disputes that might arise between the king and the patrons of the benefices in question. About two days afterwards (April 23) he set out for Rome, with the intention of seeking justice against the king from the papal see, and the Abbot of Kladruby accompanied him to Rome.

The archbishop presented to the Pope two bills of plaint

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against the king, one a longer and the other a shorter one, whence we derive our whole information respecting these disputes, and requested the Pope's most energetic interference on his behalf. But the papal court was by no means so minded as John of Jenstein imagined. Why should Pope Boniface IX. proceed with severity against King Wenceslas whom he expected to come personally to his aid against his enemies in Italy, and on whom he rested his principal hopes of victory over his rival at Avignon?

As soon as King Wenceslas learnt the departure of the archbishop, he wrote both to the Pope himself and to his own procurator at the papal court, that although a complete reconciliation had taken place between himself and the archbishop, so that he had given up all angry feeling against the archbishop, and received him again into favour, yet he was informed that the archbishop was about to prefer complaints against him. He therefore requested the Pope not to grant the archbishop a hearing, but to adjourn the matter until the arrival of the grand embassy, which he contemplated sending to Rome upon that and other business. Meanwhile he enjoyed the advantage of performing a considerable service for the Pope, which could not but obtain an increase of good-will towards him at the papal court.

The year of jubilee, with which the Pope had so highly honoured King Wenceslas, savoured greatly of covetousness; for the full indulgences granted at it were manifestly to be purchased with money, half of which was to flow to Rome. Although these things did not pass without remark from the party among the Bohemian clergy which objected to everything in the shape of simony, yet no one ventured publicly to oppose the year of jubilee and consequent traffic in indulgences according to the prices prescribed by the Pope, because King Wenceslas held his protecting hand over it. Only the rector of St. Martin-in-the-Wall, Magister Wenceslas of Jiczin, ventured to say in private that they were not indulgences, but deceptions; and the king's jester went about for a couple of days from church to church in an

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extraordinary hat, singing, "Strawberries! strawberries! how early have ye bloomed!" Large sums were collected, of which the legate Ubaldino was receiver. King Wenceslas discovered that this man was making gain by means of this money for himself—lending part to certain princes for military purposes, putting part aside for himself, and intending to send the remainder to certain money-changers in Italy, no doubt to bear interest for himself. The king stopped his proceedings by seizing the money found in his possession and placing it in safe custody, with the intention of sending it to the Pope by a special embassy of his own.

Thus Archbishop John of Jenstein stayed several months at Rome at great cost to himself, both there and in Bohemia, where he was obliged to garrison his castles strongly for fear of an attack on the part of the king. But all his efforts were in vain, and seeing no inclination in the papal court to meet his views, he eventually recognised the fact that he had been under a delusion, and returning home in the autumn of 1393 retired into privacy in his castle of Helfenburg. A storm now began to develop itself against King Wenceslas, both in his own family and among his principal nobles, in which, however, Archbishop John does not seem to have taken any prominent part, although its leader, Lord Henry of Rosenberg, was one of his greatest friends, whose secret instigator he may possibly have been. He was at any rate present at Prague, when the lords were planning the arrest and imprisonment of the king in 1394, just two days before the event took place. In order, therefore, to get rid of so suspected a person, Prince John of Gorlitz devised a plan very acceptable to the king for obtaining the archbishop's resignation of his see, and appointing his nephew, Olbram Olbramowitz, Provost of St. Apollinaris, in his room. The archbishop had now little or no enjoyment in his high position, and found little sympathy in, and absolute refusal of aid from, the clergy of his diocese. He went again to Rome, and finding the Pope in favour of the king, agreed to resign his archbishopric, and recommended Olbram as his successor some time in the year 1395.

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On March 9, 1396, Olbram paid 1,500 florins into the Pope's treasury as the first instalment of the assessment due to the Pope on his promotion. On Easter Sunday (April 2) John of Jenstein formally resigned his see, and on April 23 Olbram, as archbishop-elect, presided over the transference of the body of St. Voytech and the five brethren from the old cathedral of Prague into the centre of the nave of the new one. Finally, on July 2, his favourite festival of the Visitation of the Virgin, John of Jenstein himself consecrated and installed Olbram as archbishop in the cathedral. According to the agreement between them, which was approved by the Pope, Olbram was to pay him an annuity, and allow him to reside in his favourite castle of Helfenburg. Thither the ex-archbishop betook himself at first, but in the next year (1397) went again to Rome, where the Pope elevated him to the high but barren dignity of Patriarch of Alexandria.

For his confirmation as archbishop Olbram was required to pay to Boniface and his court 3,000 florins as firstfruits, and 2,416 for the pallium and 12 bulls issued on account of his promotion. Of the 3,000 he had already paid 1,500 florins, and by aid of his clergy he also paid the 2,416 before his consecration. But so bad were the times, that at the beginning of 1401 he was still indebted to the papal court in the sum of 582 florins, although in 1399 he had been excommunicated for non-payment of the instalment then due. No wonder then that poor John of Jenstein did not receive his annuity in full, and lived in want at Rome, where he died on June 17 in the year 1400.

The only other interesting fact in the life of John of Jenstein is, that he laid the first stone of the chapel called Bethlehem, which was afterwards the scene of Huss's preaching. But it is plain enough that he was hindering an excellent public object in objecting to the division of the huge and unwieldy diocese of Prague by the erection of the Abbey of Kladruby into an episcopal see.

It now only remains to give a brief account of the canonization of John of Jenstein's confidant, John of Pomuk, or

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rather of his imaginary double, and both the parallel and contrast with Thomas à Becket will be complete.

Somewhat late in the first half of the fifteenth century a report appears to have been current that John of Pomuk was confessor of Wenceslas's second wife Queen Sophia, and that his death was in some way connected with the seal of confession. Later on a story was promulgated that Wenceslas had entertained suspicions of his queen (which he certainly never did), and put to death, by drowning, her confessor, the Dean of All Saints, for refusing to divulge the name of her admirer. In the next century the victim of Wenceslas's fury was divided by the chronicler Hajek into two, an imaginary confessor of Wenceslas's first wife, Queen Johanna, martyred in 1383, and the real John of Pomuk, put to death as above narrated in 1393. The suppression of literature and literary life in Bohemia, especially by the action of the Jesuits after the thirty years' war, produced a crop of stories about the martyrdom of the queen's confessor, which were embodied in a romance entitled "The Life of John Nepomucen," by the Jesuit Balbinus, which was henceforth taken for and treated as genuine history.* Finally, after the farce of two solemn processes in the ecclesiastical court at Prague, the imaginary protomartyr of the confessional was canonized in 1729 under the name of ST. JOHN NEPOMUCEN, the great patron of bridges, and protector of all who, whether deservedly or undeservedly, have reason to be in fear of shame and disgrace.

But in 1754, Wokaun, suffragan Bishop of Prague, procured from the Vatican, on occasion of a legal dispute with the Abbot of Brzewnow, a copy of Archbishop John of Jenstein's official complaint against King Wenceslas, which must have fallen like a bombshell among the venerators of the saint. Between 1780 and 1790 a tolerably lively controversy took place upon the question whether there was one St. John

* It is so treated in the Rev. S. Baring Gould's Life of St. John Nepomucen in his "Lives of the Saints" for the month of May. The same writer treats the English Becket very severely.

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Nepomucen or two (*unusne an duo?*), and the very existence of the saint was called in question in educated circles. As the present century advanced, a great revival of Bohemian literature and historical research took place, and Dr. Palacky wrote his grand history of Bohemia, but was prevented by the action of the censorship of the press from expressing his real opinion as to the purely legendary character of this saint. But in 1875, the censorship having long ceased to trouble the historian, the third volume of W. W. Tomek's "History of the City of Prague" appeared, and in it this mighty saint finally received his *coup de grâce*.

It is indeed one of the strangest circumstances known in ecclesiastical history that when a careless chronicler had divided a historical character into two personages, one real and the other imaginary, the Roman clergy in Bohemia should have moved heaven and earth to procure, and the Roman curia and Pope should have assented to, the solemn canonization of THE WRONG ONE!*

* For a full account of the details of the history of the saint and his canonization see my "Life of St. John Nepomucen."

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THE ENGLISH IN MUSCOVY DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By Nicholas Casimir, Baron de Bogoushevsky,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Member of the Imperial Archæological Society of Russia, of the Moscow Archæological Society, of the Esthonian Society, &c., &c.

In the sixteenth century England had not become Empress of the ocean; but the enterprising spirit which mainly contributed to her pre-eminence had induced her even then to compete with Spain, Portugal, and Genoa, for the sovereignty of the seas.

A favourite project of English navigators was the discovery of a direct passage through the polar seas to Cathay and India. They imagined that this passage could be found by ships sailing from English ports in a north-easterly direction. This theory being supported by the renowned navigator Sebastian Cabot, a company was registered in England under the title of "*Merchants Adventurers for the Discoverie of Lands, Territories, and Seignories Unknown.*" Each member was to subscribe not less than twenty-five pounds, and the company in a short time raised a capital of £6,000. The majority were swayed by the hope of gain; but there were some who desired to solve an interesting problem, and to advance the commercial interests of their country; among these were the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Bedford, and Pembroke, and Lord Howard of Effingham.*

* "First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia, 1553—1593." By Geo. Tolstoy. St. Petersburg, 1875. Preface, pp. ii, iii.

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The direction of the enterprise was entrusted to able hands. Sir Hugh Willoughby held chief command, having under him as captains, Richard Chancellor and Cornelius Durforth. Three ships were purchased—the *Buena Esperanza*, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby; the *Edward Bonaventura*, Captain Richard Chancellor; and the *Buena Confidenza*, Captain Durforth.

Before sailing, Sir Hugh Willoughby named the harbour of Wardhuys as a rendezvous in case the ships should be separated. On the 11th May, 1553, the little squadron left the Thames. Detained by adverse winds till the end of June, they reached the isle of Heligoland on the 14th July. On the 2nd August they sighted Wardhuys, but were prevented from entering the harbour by a violent storm, during which Captain Chancellor's vessel was separated from the others, with which it was not destined again to meet.

In 1554 a fisherman discovered the missing ships anchored in the mouth of the Arsina river in Lapland. They were full of merchandise; but the crews, numbering eighty-three persons, were all frozen to death. The commander of the expedition, Sir Hugh Willoughby, perished in the act of writing his journal. The melancholy story may in a few words be related. Carried into the White Sea by the gale which separated him from Chancellor at Wardhuys, he entered, on the 11th September, a creek formed by the mouth of the river Arsina. There he anchored; but only to see his companions die one after another from cold and hunger. The entries in his journal were dated up to the month of January, 1554, when the stout-hearted commander succumbed.*

Chancellor was more fortunate. After waiting some time at Wardhuys, in the hope of being rejoined by his companions, he proceeded on his voyage, reached the White Sea, and on the 24th August entered the mouth of the northern

* Hakluyt's Navigations, ii., 232—236.

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Dwina. He disembarked near the monastery of St. Nicholas,* a spot on which arose in after years the flourishing town of Archangel, for nearly two centuries the only Russian port on the high seas. Wonder, not unmixed with fear, agitated the minds of the Russians when the foreign *caravel* anchored in the lone harbour of St. Nicholas, and disgorged a strange crew upon its shores. But their apprehensions were speedily allayed when Captain Chancellor, on being informed that the country belonged to the Czar of Russia, declared himself bearer of a letter from his sovereign to the Czar. A courier was at once despatched to Moscow to announce the English captain's arrival, and the foreign visitors were meanwhile hospitably entertained at Kholmagora, the capital of the district.

John, afterwards designated the Terrible, but then known as the Good, comprehended the advantages that his country might derive from mercantile relations with England. He commanded the officials at Kholmagora to conduct Captain Chancellor honourably to Moscow. The ship being brought into winter quarters at the mouth of the Una, Chancellor and his companions, on the 23rd November, 1553, set out on their journey.

Arrived at Moscow, the English strangers were dazzled by the unexpected splendour of the Russian court. Surrounded by the Boyars and dignitaries of his realm, clad in rich vestments of gold and silver brocade, the young sovereign wearing a magnificent diadem sparkling with precious gems, was seated on a costly throne.† At the audience Chancellor delivered to him King Edward's letter. It was written in

* From the *Dwina Chronicle*, p. 125, we extract the following:—"Aug. 24 (1553), a ship arrived and anchored in the Dwina mouth, when one named *Ritzert* (Richard), envoy of the English King Edward, came to Kholmagora in boats, saying he was going to the Great Sovereign" (*i. e.*, the Czar).

† Conf. with the descriptions of Kobenzel, the Austrian ambassador in 1575 (see *Karamsin's Hist. of the Russian Empire*, vol. ix.).

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several languages, and addressed to the "Northern and Eastern Sovereigns." The following is a reproduction of the Latin text:—

"Eduardus Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, etc. . . . Omnibus Regibus et principibus ac dominis et cunctis Judicibus terræ et ducibus eius, quibuscunque est excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ sunt sub vniverso cœlo; Pax, tranquillitas, et honor vobis, terris et regionibus vestris, quæ imperio vestro subiacent, cuique vestrum quemadmodum conuenit ei.

"Propterea quod indidit Deus Opt. Max hominibus præ cunctis alijs viventibus cor et desiderium tale; vt appetat quisque cum alijs societatem inire, amare et vicissim amari, beneficijs afficere et mutua accipere beneficia studeat, ideo cuique, pro facultate sua hoc desiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus, beneficijs fovere et conseruare conuenit in illis autem maxime qui hoc desiderio adducti, a remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingressi sunt eo ardentius in eis hoc desiderium fuisse, declararunt. Insuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorumque nostrorum exempla inuitant, qui semper humanissime susceperunt et benignissime tractauerunt illos, qui, tum a locis propinquis, tum a remotis, eos amice adibant, eorum protectioni commendantes. Quod si omnibus id præstare æquum est, certe mercatoribus imprimis præstari debet qui per vniversum orbem discurrunt, mare circumlustrantes et aridam, vt res bonas et vtiles quæ Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotissimas regiones et regna adferant; atque inde vicissim referant quod suæ regioni vtile ibi repeterint: ut et populi ad quos eunt non destituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum et ipsi sint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli et terræ humano generi maxime consulens noliut vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quo regio ope alterius regionis indigeret et gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret ac ita stabiliretur inter omnes, singulique omnibus benefacere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac stabiliendæ amicitiæ desiderio moti viri quidam regni nostri, iter in remotis maritimas regiones instituerunt vt inter nostros et illos populos viam mercibus inferendis et efferendis aperirent, nosque rogauerunt vt id illis concederemus. Qui, petitioni eorum annuentes concessimus viro honorabili et forti Hugoni Willibeo [Anglice Sir Hugh Willoughby, Kt.] et alijs qui cum eo sunt

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seruis nostris fidis et charis ; vt pro sua voluntate in regiones eis prius incognitas eant, quæsituri ea quibus nos caremus, et adducant illis ex nostris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis et nobis commodum inde accedat, sitque amicitia perpetua, et fœdus indissolubile inter illos et nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus superabundant in regnis suis, et nos concedemus illis ex regnis nostris res quibus destituuntur.

"Rogamus itaque vos Reges et Principes, et omnes quibus ali quæ est potestas in terra vt viris istis nostris transitum permittatis per regiones vestras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus vestris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quod homines et ipsi sunt. Et si qua re caruerint oramus pro vestra beneficentiâ eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicissim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos quemadmodum cuperetis vt nos, et subditi nostri, nos gereremus erga seruos vestros, si quando transierint per regiones nostras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo terra et mari continentur perque vitam nostram et tranquillitatem regnorum nostrorum nos pari benignitate seruos vestros accepturos si ad regna nostra aliquando venerint. Atque a nobis et subditis nostris ac si nati fuissent in regnis nostris ita benigne tractabuntur vt rependamus vobis benignitatem quam nostris exhibueritis. Postquam vos Reges, Principes, etc. rogauimus vt humanitate et beneficentia omni prosequamini seruos nostros nobis charos oramus omnipotentem Deum nostrum vt vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur et pacem quæ nullam habeat finem.

"Scriptum Londini quæ ciuitas est primaria regni nostri, anno 1553 a creato mundo, mense Jair* 14 die mensis, anno septimo regn inostri."

After a preamble upon the advantages accruing to nations from intercourse with each other, and the duty of kings to encourage commerce as a means of civilizing their subjects and advancing the prosperity of their realms, the letter proceeds :—

"Moved by the desire of establishing friendly relations with foreign peoples, certain of our subjects have proposed a journey to distant maritime regions in order to open a trade with the nations

* To this word Hakluyt adds the following note : "Jair, I would reade Mair, that is in the Sarasen language ; mixt of Turkish and Ægyptian ; Februarie interpreted by them the moneth to set ships to the sea."

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inhabiting those districts, and have besought our permission to undertake the same. Consenting to their petition, we have given and granted to the brave and worthy knight Sir Hugh Willoughby and his companions, our faithful and well-beloved subjects, full power and authority to travel to these unexplored regions, there to seek such articles as we lack, and thither to bring from our shores such articles as these peoples may require. And so it will be for our mutual advantage and constant friendship, and an unbroken faith will link us together; while our traders are permitted to receive the superabundance of those lands, we on our part shall graciously send from our country what is lacking in theirs. Accordingly we beseech you, kings, princes, and all in authority in these regions, to grant free passage through your dominions to these our subjects. They will touch none of your goods without your leave. What they may lack, we beseech you for the sake of humanity to bestow on them, receiving in turn from them what will repay you. So bear yourselves towards them as ye would wish ourselves and our subjects to bear ourselves to your servants should they enter our dominions. And we solemnly pledge ourselves before God to receive your subjects at any time landing on our shores with equal kindness."

After the audience, Chancellor and his companions were entertained at the Czar's table along with one hundred of the *elite* of the court. They were served by attendants in magnificent costumes, and ate from vessels of silver and gold. The banquet was followed by a council of Boyars. The English envoys were present, and had every reason to be satisfied by the result of the debates. On the 15th March Chancellor left Moscow, bearing the Czar's answer to his royal master. The epistle, dated February, 1554, was written in Russian, and accompanied by a Dutch translation.* It was couched in the most friendly terms, and set forth that, understanding well the precepts of the Christian faith and the principles of government, besides consulting his own dispositions, the Czar was ready to comply with the King of England's wishes. Further he informed the king that he had received and hospitably entertained his envoy Captain Chancellor, and would act as fairly to Sir Hugh Willoughby should the latter reach

* See Notes to vol. ix. of *Karamsin's History of the Russian Empire.*

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Russia. Finally, he concluded by saying that a friendly reception, full security and protection, and liberty of trade awaited English merchants in his empire.

On reaching the mouth of the Dwina, Captain Chancellor took up his quarters for the rest of the winter in his ship, and in the following spring sailed for England. There he found that Edward VI. was dead, and that Mary was his successor. The intelligence which he brought, and the contents of the Czar's letter which he presented to the Queen, made a profound impression. Russia was everywhere spoken of as a "newly discovered" country, and inquiries were instituted as to its history and geography. To satisfy public curiosity Chancellor wrote his "Booke of the Great and Mighty Emperor of Russia and Duke of Muscovia, and of the Dominions, Orders, and Commodities thereunto belonging." In this work, the whole tenor and style of which prove the author to have been a skilful observer, a really surprising amount of information is amassed respecting the products and marts of Russia, its civil and military administration, and the manners, customs, religion, and social life of its inhabitants. It presents an interesting picture of Russian life in the middle of the sixteenth century.

On the 15th February, 1555, Queen Mary and her consort Philip confirmed at Westminster the charter granted by Edward VI. to the "Merchants Adventurers." The company was placed under the direction of Sebastian Cabot, as life governor, with a council of four consuls and twenty-four assistants, to be chosen annually from the members. The company was licensed to make discoveries in all manner of unknown countries in a northern, north-eastern, and north-western direction; to use the royal arms on their flags, and to "subdue, possess, and occupy all townes, castles, villages, isles, and main landes of infidelitie." They were besides licensed to repulse by force any attempts made by natives of other lands to profit by their discoveries, and were empowered to confiscate the ships and goods of such intruders, paying to the Crown one-half the produce. Nevertheless,

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profiting by a direct maritime communication with Russia, ships from Holland, Brabant, and Spain, traded at the mouths of the Dwina and Poudoga rivers. During the life of Queen Mary the company did not venture to protest against the violation of their privileges by her consort's subjects; but some years later Queen Elizabeth wrote to Czar John, insisting that he should prohibit the merchants of other countries from trading with Russia through the White Sea, considering that by right of discovery that route belonged to England.

In April, 1555, the company of Merchants Adventurers was entrusted with a letter from Philip and Mary to the Czar, written in three languages—Greek, Polish, and Italian. Of this remarkable document the English version is as follows:—

"Whereas by the consent and licence of our most deare and entirely beloued late brother, King Edward the Sixt, whose soule God pardon, sundrie of our subiects marchants of the Citie of London within thes our realmes of England did at their owne proper costs and aduenture furnish three shippes to discouer, serch, and find lands, Islands, regions and territories before this aduenture not knowen be commenly haunted and frequented by seas, the one of the which three shippes named the *Edward Bonauenture*, whereof our right wel-beloued Richard Chancelour was then the gouerneur and great Captain chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the sayd Chancelour to arriue and winter in the north part of your Empire of Russia. Forasmuch as we be credibly informed by the report of our trustie and wel beloued subiect, that your maiestie did not onely call him and certaine of his company to your emperiall presence and speech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes; but also being thereunto requested partly by the letters of our said brother, and partly by request of the said Richard Chancelour, haue by your letters-patents vnder your seale among other things granted: That all such marchants as shall come forth of anie of our realms of England or Ireland with al maner of wares, if they wil trauel or occupie within your dominions, the same marchants with their marchandises in al your lordship may freely and at their libertie trauaile out and in without hinderance or any maner of losse; And of your farther ample goodnesse haue promised that our ambassadours, if wee send any, shall with free good will

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to passe to and from you, without any hinderance or losse, with such message as shall come vnto you, and to returne the same to our kingdomes well answered, as by the same your letters, written in your lordly Palace and Castle of Mosco, in the yeer 7062, the moneth of Februarie more at large appeareth. Like as we cannot but much commend your princely fauour and goodnesse, and in like manner thanke you for the aboundant grace, extended to the sayd Richard Chancelour, and others our subiects marchants. Euen so these are to pray and request you to continue the same beneuolence toward them, and other marchants and subiects, which doe, or heereafter shall resorte to your countrey. And for the more assurance and incouragement to trade and exercise the feate of marchandise with your subiects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may please you at this our contemplation to assigne and authorise such Commissaries as you shall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our wel-beloued subiects and marchants, the sayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, and Richard Graie, bearers of these our letters; who are by vs authorised for that purpose; and to confirme and graunt such other liberties and priuiledges vnto the Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and Communaltie of the fellowship of the saide Marchants, as the said bearers in their name propone and require by you to be granted for their safe conduct, good gouernment, and order to be erected and continued among them in your saide dominions; and this with such your clemencie and expedition as wee, vpon the next arriuall of the saide Richard Chanceloure, may bee enformed of your gracious disposition and answere. Which your beneuolences so to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your subiects Marchants, that shal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right excellent, and right mightie, Almightie God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost haue you in his blessed keeping. Giuen vnder our seale at our Palace of Westminster, the first of April, in the yere from the blessed incarnation of our Sauiour Jesus Christ, 1555, and in the first and second yeeres of our reignes."

The delivery of the royal epistle was entrusted to Captain Chancellor (who sailed in his former ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*), and to two agents, Richard Grey and George Killingworth, who received at the same time instructions remarkable for minuteness and foresight. All persons accompanying

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the expedition were enjoined to respect the laws of Russia, and were required to leave a pecuniary deposit with the company as a guarantee of good behaviour.

Sailing in May they arrived at the port of St. Nicholas, and there found the vessels of Sir Hugh Willoughby, which had been discovered and transported by the Czar's command, with all their goods intact, to Kholmagora — the port at which Chancellor had landed in 1553. Leaving Grey at Vologda, Chancellor, accompanied by Killingworth, proceeded to Moscow. Arriving on the 4th October, they were by Czar John graciously received and entertained at dinner "near his own person." A council was held to determine the rights and privileges to be accorded to the English traders. It was decided to establish a mart twice a year, in autumn and winter, at Kholmagora, the prices of goods to be optional. These propositions were ratified by the Czar in a special charter by which the English were permitted to trade toll free, to build and inhabit houses in any town of the Russian empire, and to elect their own judges. Further, by the Czar's command the ships of Sir Hugh Willoughby were delivered to Captain Chancellor.

The aspect of Kholmagora was speedily changed. Warehouses and spacious dwellings were erected by the English residents, and the wretched hamlet surrounding the monastery of St. Nicholas was transformed into a thriving port. The principal goods at this time imported by the English were broadcloth and sugar. The former sold at 12 *rubles* (guineas) the piece; sugar at 4 *altuins* (shillings) per pound.*

As the idea of a passage through the polar seas to China was not yet abandoned, an expedition sailed from Archangel under Captain Burrough, who penetrated as far as Nova Zembla and the island of Waigatch. Meeting with continuous gales and masses of floating ice, he was forced to turn back, and

* The *original* rouble as well as the *original* pound sterling was equal to 1 lb. of silver; but in the sixteenth century both had greatly decreased in value, the rouble in particular, so that the parallel indicated can be comprehended simply as explicative.

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in August, 1555, reached Archangel without having obtained any important results.

On the 25th of March, 1556, Chancellor, having received his commission, departed from Moscow on his return to England. He was accompanied by the Czar's ambassador, Josef Gregoryevitch Nipeja and sixteen Russians, who embarked in Chancellor's own vessel, the *Bonaventure*. At Kholmagora some Russian merchants joined the ambassador's suite. On the 20th July the ships sailed on what proved an ill-starred voyage. The *Buona Confidenza* was dashed to pieces on the rocky coast of Norway; the *Buona Esperanza*, separated in a fog, was not again heard of; and the *Bonaventure*, after encountering a succession of terrific gales, was wrecked in the Bay of Pitsligo in Scotland. The gallant Chancellor and the greater part of the crew perished; the cargo was swallowed up by the waves, or plundered by wreckers; the Russian ambassador with nine companions alone were saved. Intelligence of this disaster, which occurred on the 7th November, did not reach London till a month later. Nipeja was detained in Scotland till February, 1557, when arriving at Berwick he was hospitably entertained by Lord Wharton, warden of the East Marches. From Berwick Nipeja proceeded to the English capital, where he was welcomed by a procession of 140 merchants and aldermen, and a lodging assigned him in Fenchurch Street. He was daily entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and the Queen only postponing his reception until the return of her consort from the Low Countries. At the audience Nipeja presented the letter of the Czar, and offered to the Queen a few skins of sables which had escaped the clutches of the Scottish wreckers. In the inventory of the presents destined for the sovereigns of England were—6 pairs of sables; 20 whole sables, with ears and claws; 4 live sables, with collars and chains; 6 large furs "as only the Czar wore;" and a white falcon, with hood and gilded netting. At a subsequent audience Nipeja received from the Queen several valuable presents for his imperial master. Among

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the items occur — 2 pieces cloth of gold; 1 broad-cloth, scarlet; 1 ditto, violet; 1 ditto, blue; 2 suits of armour (sent by Philip); and a helmet studded with gilt nails, also a lion and lioness. On the 29th April the Russian ambassador was entertained at the Drapers' Hall by the Russian Company, who paid the expenses of his sojourn and presented him with a chain of pure gold worth 100 guineas, and five magnificent drinking cups.

On the 3rd May, 1557, Nipeja left England on his return to Russia. He was attended by a convoy of three ships, commanded by Captain Anthony Jenkinson, an adventurous traveller whose services had been secured by the company in place of the unfortunate Chancellor. Jenkinson's instructions were to establish a direct communication with Persia by way of the Caspian Sea. The little squadron anchored in Port St. Nicholas on the 12th June. Nipeja proceeded to Moscow, taking with him specimens of English goods and a number of English craftsmen, chiefly miners, intended to assist the Czar's government in the exploration of the Siberian mines. Skilful surgeons also accompanied the ambassador and settled in the capital. Jenkinson remained at Kholmagora until his ships had sailed on their homeward voyage freighted with Russian merchandise. On the 6th December he entered Moscow, and met a most gracious reception. He found the Czar disposed to grant all his requests, and do everything in his power to increase the privileges and advance the trade of the English residents. On the 23rd April, 1558, Jenkinson set out on his journey to Astrakhan and Persia, provided with safe-conducts addressed by the Czar to the rulers of the countries through which he should have to pass. His travels may be dismissed in a few words. Sailing down the Volga he reached Astrakhan on the 16th July, thence he coasted the Caspian Sea to Mangashlyk, and packing his goods on camels pushed across the deserts of Turkestan to Bokhara. There he remained two months, and returning by the same route with 600 camel-loads of Oriental merchandise, and ambassadors from the Tartar chiefs of Bokhara, Balkh, and

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Urgenz, reached the Russian capital in September, 1559. Having passed the winter at Vologda, Jenkinson, in the following spring, returned to England, where he made a report to the company as to his travels. While dissuading them from any further attempts to reach Cathay, he strongly urged the establishment of a trade with Persia through the Russian dominions. To this proposition they agreed, and entrusted him with the execution of the plan.

On his return to Russia, Jenkinson found the aspect of affairs had greatly changed. John the Good had given place to John the Terrible, who, no longer restrained by the gentle influences of his first wife Anastasia, who had died in the interval, had given way to the most horrible excesses that a ferocious temper could suggest. Surrounded by a body-guard of hired ruffians and degraded nobles, he traversed his dominions arresting and executing men of the highest rank and wealth in the realm, while wholesale butcheries took place almost daily in the "Red Square" of Moscow. At the time of Jenkinson's arrival in the capital (20th August, 1561) the Czar was solemnizing his nuptials with a Circassian princess (Mary Temgrukovna), and the English envoy found it impossible to gain an audience, as the new Secretary of State, to whom he was unknown, refused to make his arrival known. Through the intervention of Nipeja, Jenkinson at last obained an interview with the Czar, whom he found as favourably disposed as ever to his "English friends." Armed with the Czar's safe-conduct he left Moscow on the 27th April, 1562, in company with the Persian ambassador. Of this second journey it need only be recorded that he concluded a treaty of commerce with Abdul Khan, ruler of Shirwan; but the unfavourable disposition of the Persian monarch Shah Tamás, whom he next visited, caused the trade with Persia *vid* Russia to be in 1581 definitively abandoned.

After a short sojourn in England we find this indefatigable agent of the company again in Russia in May, 1566, exposing the imposture of an Italian named Barberini, who was

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endeavouring to injure the English trade. The Czar at this time granted a new charter by which the ports of Kholmagora, Kola, Mezen, Pechenga, and the mouth of the Obi river were closed to all but "agents of the company," who were further privileged to transport their goods toll-free across the Russian empire to Bokhara and Samarcand. At this time the company had greatly extended their bounds, possessing trading stations at Kholmagora, St. Nicholas (Archangel), Jaroslav, Kostroma, Nijni, Kazan, Astrakhan, Novgorod, Pskov, Narva, and Dorpat. In his dealings with the company the Czar followed the dictates of a sound policy. His cruelties had raised up so many enemies, all the more dangerous that they dared not be open enemies, that he felt his position to be far from secure. He desired to win the attachment of the English Queen's subjects, lest "at anie tyme it soe mishappe that he bee by anie casuall chaunce, either of secrite conspiracie or outwarde hostillitie, driven to change his countrie, and shall like to repaire unto her kingdome and dominions with the noble Empresse his wife and his deare children the princes."

To establish a firm and lasting alliance with England became a fixed idea with the "terrible" Czar. With this view he despatched Jenkinson to England to endeavour to obtain a favourable settlement of the question by St. Peter's Day (June 24th), 1567. A copy of the Czar's message, which contains a curious proposal of an offensive alliance against Poland, is preserved in the British Museum.*

"ANTHO. JENKINSON'S MESSAGE DONE TO THE Q. MA-TIE FROM THE EMPEROR OF MOSCOUIA.

"Ffirst, the said Emperor of Muscouia earnestly requireth that there may be a perpetuall frendship and kyndred betwixt the Q. ma-tie and him which shal be the begining of further matter to be done.

"Ffurther, the said Emperour requireth that the Q. ma-tie and he might be (to all their enemyes) joyned as one; to say her grace to be ffrieind to his friends, and enemy to his enemyes, and so per

* Cotton MSS., Nero, B. xj., 332.

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contr. And that England and Russland might be in all matters as one.

"Ffurther, the said prynce hath willed to declare to the Q. ma-tie that as the King of Pole' is not his ffreind, even so he sheweth himself not to be frend to the Q. ma-tie, ffor that last somer ther was a spye taken with lettres from the King of Pole directed to the English merchants in Russia wherin was written thiese wordes :— 'I, Sigismond, K. of Pole', etc., require you Englysh marchants my trustie servants to aide this bringer, and to assist and ayde such Russes as be my ffreinds with money and all other helpes, with other wordes.' Whereat the Emperor at the ffirst was much offended. But after, by the confession of the spie (when he suffered death), it was knowne to be a practize of the k. of Pole', as well to haue by that meanes caused the indignacon of the Emperor to haue fallen upon the English nation, and to haue broken ffrendship betwixt the Q. ma-tie and him. As allso that he should haue charged diuers of his nobles with treason. Wherfore the Emperor requireth the Q. ma-tie that she would bee and joyne with him (as one) upon the Pole, and not to suffer her people to haue trade of merchandize with the subiects of the K. of Pole'.

"Ffurther, the Emperor requireth that the Q-s. ma-tie would lycence maisters to come unto him which can make shippes, and sayle them.

"Ffurther that the Q. ma-tie would suffer him to haue out of England all kynde of Artillerie and things necessarie for warre.

"Ffurther, the Emperor requireth earnestly that there may be assurance made by oath and faith betwixt the Q. ma-tie and him, that yf any misfortune might fall or chance upon ether of them to goe out of their countries, that it might be lawfull to ether of them to come into the others countrey for the safegard of them selues and their lyves. And ther to lyve and haue relief without any feare or danger untill such tyme as such misfortune be past, and that god hath otherwise provided, and that the one may be receaved of the other with honnor. And this to be keapt most seacret.

"And of all this matter, the Emperor requireth the Q. ma-tie most humbly to have answer by some of her trustie councellours, or by one of more greater estimacon then myself. And whatsoever the Q.-'s ma-tie shall require of him, yt shall be granted and fully accomplished.

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"The Queenes ma-tie answere to be geven, the Emperour requyreth by S-t Peters day next."

To this indirect communication the English queen returned no answer. Except as a market for her goods Russia was of no importance to England, nor had Elizabeth's Government any desire to embroil themselves with Poland for the sake of Russian interests. To punish the English queen, however, for the diplomatical reserve she maintained, the Czar resolved to reopen commercial intercourse with the Hanseatic merchants, and introduce them as rivals to the English traders. The remonstrances of the White Sea Company and the English Government were alike disregarded, and three envoys despatched at different times were imprisoned, under the pretext of being spies in the interests of Poland, until the Czar should receive a definite answer from "his deare sister Elizabeth." In this crisis Elizabeth acted with her usual energy and wisdom. Thomas Randolph, a statesman of dignity and repute, and versed in all the political questions of the time, was despatched to Moscow as ambassador extraordinary. Randolph was instructed to inform the Czar of the Queen's favourable dispositions, and that she was ready at all times to offer him an asylum in her dominions. With regard to any treaty against Poland, he was to answer indefinitely and to pledge his Government to nothing. Finally, he was to reconcile the Czar with the English residents, and obtain a restoration of their privileges, and protection of their interests for the future.

On the 15th of October, 1568, Randolph arrived in Moscow. Through the intrigues of two former agents of the Company, Rutter and Glover, who had opened up a trade for the Czar with Lubeck to the detriment of the Company's interest, the English ambassador was at first subjected to considerable inconvenience and even indignity. Coldly received in public, he succeeded in a private interview in coming to an understanding with the Czar. The English Company received a confirmation of their old prerogatives and a number of new privileges. The competition of foreigners

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in the White Sea trade was abolished, the Narva trade became again a monopoly in the Company's hands, and the originators of the disturbances were delivered over to Randolph to answer for their misdeeds. Having successfully concluded these arrangements, Randolph prepared to return to England, accompanied by the Russian ambassador, Andrew Gregorye'-vitch Sovin, who bore a letter* to the queen, and a copy of a secret treaty† requiring her to assist the Czar in his wars with men, money, and arms, and to grant Russian citizens freedom of trade in England. This treaty Sovin had instructions to "force" the queen to accept, and sign *without alterations*. A copy of it translated from the Russian was submitted to the queen in council, and its articles became a subject of lively debate. We give the documents in full:

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AMBASSADOUR OF RUSSIA TO THE Q-'S MA-TIE IN MANNER OF A LETTER.

For what you sent to us your ambassadour Thomas Randolphe with leteres which leteres wee vnderstand also wee beare in minde your leteres written the yere past in September and ye beare in minde our highnes leteres sent to you with our welbeloved servaunt Anthonie Jenkinson in the which our leteres you know our pleasure towardes your subiectes for your sake, which wee have inquired sought out and doe understand off our highnes good will and great favour, and that you wil be of one minde with vs, even so hereafter your successors shall not forgett our highnis good will and to make our highnes good will better knowen our affaires shall not be wightie to you for that you sent youre great ambassadour about the affaires, that wee haue now in hand youre welbeloved and faithfull servaunt Thomas Randolphe whose faithfullnes wee well understand, who hath accomplished off your highnes affares in other landes as wee well knowe, and for that you thought our highnes would like well of him for that he was a man of great wisdome and experience who was meete to knowe our highnes service. Therefore your highnes hath

* Brit. Mus., Cotton MSS., Nero, Plut., xxii., E. 4.
† State Paper Office, London.

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sent this oratore to vs to open all matter in youre name for that you doe thinke our highnes will beleeve him wee lett you knowe that wee haue receiued this ambassadour and haue giuen him heareing and that wee haue read ouer your our sisters leteres, wee well vnderstand them and what your commission was with him hath beene brought befoure our heare, further your trustie and faithfull ambassadour Thomas Randolphe wee haue received him according to the manner and custome of receiveinge ambassadours euer as betweene you and mee brotherhood and frendshippe should bee and wee sent our counsellor and captaine Duke Alfonas Evanowich Vazemskie* and our secretarie Petro Gregoria† to give aunswere and to furnishe your ambassadye as it is meete our brotherhood and frendshippe to continewe, and they accordinge to our commandment with your our sisters embassadour Thomas Randolphe have agreed uppon the same: wherefore wee haue sent to thee againe our sister your ambassadour and with him our trustie and faithfull gentleman who is neare about our person Andrew Gregoriwich Saviena‡ and with him our secretarie Symon Sobastana§ and of all our affaires to thee our sister, wee haue giuen commission to our ambassadour Andrew Gregoriwich Savine with your ambassadour Thomas Randolphe how loue and frendshippe should continewe between us and that peace maie continew betwixt both (*these landes*) for (*wel fare*) and our common wealthes.

Further that it would please your highnes to thinke no (*pertinances*) that wee keept your ambassadour so longe from our presence, the reason thereof he was so longe keept backe was when I lett departe youre messinger Anthonie Jenkinson and with our affaires committed unto him to speake by worde of mouthe when the time was come that wee did looke for aunsweere by Anthonie againe wee hard no worde of him and as then your ambassadoure was not come. But your messinger George Middleton was come to the Marve (*i.e.*, Narve) and with him manie other naminge themselues to be your messingers and wee willed to enquire of them whether your our sisters messinger Anthonie were come to youre presence, and whether they had anie

* Prince Athanasius Ivanowich Viasemsky.

† Peter Gregorieff. ‡ Andrew Gregorievich.

§ Simon Sevastianoff.

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thinge to saie to vs of the messaudge or whether Anthonie should come or anie other in his steed, and they beeinge embrased with pride would make vs no aunswere, that they would not come to our neare and privie counsaile and would make them privie of none of theire affaires, all that they saide was of marchant affaires and settinge our highnes affares aside as it is the use of all countries that princes affaires should be first ended and after that to seeke a gaine. . . .

And your ambassadour Thomas Randolphe when he was come was keept from our presence in like manner wee sent to him five or six times that he would come to our counsaile for . . . . he that . . . . wordes that wee willed to be spoken to thee our sisters authoritie and that it was not meete, that these affaires should be oppened and your ambassadour would not goe to our counsaillers to giue aunswere of the secrite affaires vppon which that occasion, he was longe delaied.

But your ambassadour had seene our eies and had shewed to our counsaile, what affaires was committed to him and that he had commission of that, I sent to thee by Anthonie then wee shewed our gratious favour to him, and then wee beganne to haue to doe in those affaires and endinge those affaires wee haue sent your ambassadour to you our sister and with him our ambassadour Andrew Gregoriwich Ssavina. And for that you sent your letters by George Middletone your messinger with the marchants of trade of marchantdize and of accompte wee haue committed this matter to our counsailer and captaine of vologerie (Vologda) Duke Alfonas Evanowich Vasemskie with Thomas your ambassadour that they should seeke the right and your marchants did reckon with those marchaunts Thomas Glover that is with vs in our realme, and they could not come to anie agreement and we uppon that occasion of accompte have sent into thy kingdome Thomas Glover with our ambassadour Andrew Gregoriwich that the marchaunts maie accompte there with him.

To thee our sister Q. Elizabeth as concerneinge the marchaunts Glover, Rutter, and Bennett, wee have given commission to our ambassadour Andrew Gregoriwich Savina in what so euer those marchaunts be guiltie before thy highnes, that it would please thee for our sake to show favour unto them and to take awaie thy displeasures from them for that these marchaunts Glover and Rutter in these affaires were the first beginnors how betweene thee and me brotherhood and frendshippe should be.

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Priviledge.*—We haue giuen to thie marchaunts at thie request a priviledge to traffique thorrowe our realme and to passe with marchaundize thorrowe our realme in other realmes accordinge to ther supplicacons and wee haue taken our priviledge from the marchaunts Thomas and Raphe and theire fellowshippe which was given to them for the loue and freindshippe of thee our sister.

Our letter written in the Empire of Muscovia at our auncient towne of Vologdaye from the beginning of the world seven thousand seaventie and seaven the xx-th of June fuortieth of our ege, the xxx-th yere of our Lordshippe and the 23 yere of our Empire since the wynning of Casane vij yere and of Astrecane XV. yere.

Articles agreed uppon on the part of the right high, right mighty and right excellent princesse Elizabeth by the grace of God Q. of England France and Irland defensor of the Christian faith etc. for a League of amitie betweene her Highnes and the (great Duke of Muscouia) right high right excellent right mightie prince John Basiliwich K. and great Duke of all Russia, Volodomere etc. and others, her dearest brother and cousin.

[The original of this document is written in a beautiful hand; on some letters remain grains of gold sand; corrections seem to have been made in a very hurried manner. All this leads us to suppose that it is an original draft laid before Queen Elizabeth, and corrected under her own dictation by one of her under secretaries.]

1. Whereas it hath ben requested of her ma-ty on the behalf of the (great Duke of Muscovia) said right high and mightie Prince John Basiliwch K. and great D. of all Russia that there might be a perpetuall amity betweene her ma-ty and the said D.

It is accorded on her ma-ts part there shalbe a perpetuall perfect and sounde amity betweene her said Highnes and the said D. and that euery of them shall vse all other Princs that are friends to eyther of them both, with good offris of frendshippe: and if any of them shalbe iniuried by any other Prince, vppon significacon made thereof by the party iniuried and the justice of his cause made manifest the other party shall in most earnest sort and without vnnecessary delayes require the Prince that the iniury to desist from further offence and to returne to honnorable condicons of peace according to the lawes of Almighty God and the rules of justice that ought to be betweene Princs that professe Christianity, which if the Prince so offending

* This word is written on the margin.

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shall wilfully and against reason peremtorily refuse to do that then the Prince confederate after such refusall to his request shall in no wise continew amity with the Prince so refusing but shall ayd the other Prince confederate that shalbe so iniuried to withstand the wrong don to his confederate.

2. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie prince that the said amity be offensiue and defensiue, so that the frends to the one may be taken and reputed frends to the other and the ennemyes to the one the ennemyes to the other.

It is fully accorded and agreed on her ma-ts behalf as in the former article appeareth.

3. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie prince that as oft as neede shall require and the same be demaunded the one be ready to ayd and assist the other with men treasure, munican and all things necessary for warre.

It is accorded on her ma-ts part that eyther Prince so confederate, shall in all cases, where by force of the former articles ayd is to be giuen yeld the same being required as frendly and readily as the same may be donne according as oportunity of tyme and place may permitt the party required to yeld the same hauing consideracon of the present state and condicon of the party so required.

4. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that neyther of them do assist by any meanes whatsoeuer the ennemye or ennemyes to the other or do willingly or wittingly suffer directly or indirectly, any aide to be giuen.

It is accorded on her ma-ts part that after the tyme the party which shalbe an ennemy shall vppon request to be made—as in the first article is contayned—refuse to desist from doing further wrong or iniury, to the other party, the party confederate so required shall in no sort ayd the party doing and continuing wrong against the said confederate, nor shall willingly suffer any aide—which conveniently may be impeached—to be giuen to the party offending and doing the iniurye.

5. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that her ma-ty do suffer and giue licence to such artificers and handycrafts men to go to the seruice of the said D. as he shall prouide here within the realme for his better seruice in the warres.

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Her ma-ty is content and agreeth that vppon knowledge giuen of the parties being artificers and handycraftsmen that shalbe content to depart to the said D-s seruice, the same shalbe licensed so to do if they be not already lawfully imprested by bonde or otherwyse into any other especiall seruice within theire natiue country.

6. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that the subiects of eyther may haue free accesse and regresse in and out of all and euery the kingdomes, dominions and territories of each other without any lett or molestacon (or without other especiall licence or salfe conduct but only by vertue of thes league).

It is on her ma-ts behalf agreed that it shalbe lawfull for all naturall borne subiects of eyther Prince so to do that are not by theire office or bonde tied to remaine within theire natiue countries and the same be not restrayned by the forme of any priuilege graunted by eyther Prince.

7. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that it may be lawfull to all marchants, subiects to eyther of the said Princs to bring in and carry out of all and euery of the kingdomes dominions and territories of each, all sorts and kinds of marchandizes without lett or molestacon or without *forcible* taking any part or parcell of the said goods to eyther of theire proper vses (without the good will, consent and agreement of the said marchants and the prices of the said marchandizes duly before paid or due order giuen for the payment).

It is accorded on her ma-ts part that it shalbe lawfull for all and euery the marchants which are naturall borne subiects of eyther prince to bring in and carry out all marchandises out of eyther their dominions and contries in lyke sort as at this day they lawfully do or may bring or carry out from or into any other contries of any other king with whome her ma-ty is in amity, so it do not with offence of priuiledge graunted by eyther Prince, and that it be without coulloring the goods of any borne subiect of any other Prince, on the only payne of confiscacon of the goods so to be coloured and without vsing factors or ministers of other nacon, and that neyther prince shall take any part of such marchandise from any marchant against his or theire will, but in case where eyther of the princs shall haue manifest neede to buy the same for the priuate vse of the said prince about his person, or for his houshoulde

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and in those cases that ready money at reasonable prics be paid to the marchant or owner.

8. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that the said marchants on both partes may salfly soiourne abyde tary and remayne (and haue houses for theire necessary residence and warehouses for their marchandises).

It is on her ma-ts behalf agreed and accorded that the said marchants be (they) his naturall borne subiects (of eyther P. and that they obserue the ciuill lawes of the contries where they remaine).

9. Item it is on her ma-ts part required that this treaty or any part thereof shall not be drawen construed or taken to the diminucon or preiudice of anie priuiledge heretofore graunted by the said (D.) right high and mightie p. to her ma-ts subiects and that the said priuiledge and euery clause and article thereof be from henceforth inviolably kept obserued and maintayned by the said (Duke) right high and mightie p. his heires and successors especially the article that excludeth all strangers from trafficque in his dominions without her ma-ts lycence anything in this treaty or other things notwithstanding.

10. Lastly where it is requested that this league may be mutually confirmed by ambassadors sent from the one to the other and by othes and seales of the one and the other. It is on her ma-ts part accorded so that convenient tyme be allowed in respect of the long and doubtfull passage by sea for the ambassador to be sent forth at good purpose.

After nearly a year of fruitless negotiations (July, 1569, to May, 1570) the queen dismissed Sovin charging him with two letters to the Czar. One was the formal epistle which usually accompanied the dismissal of an ambassador, the other was a secret letter sealed with her private signet. In the former * an answer is given to Sovin's ostensible mission—a conclusion of a league between Russia and England for mutual, and against common enemies. In the secret epistle† a secure asylum in England is promised to the Czar

* State Paper Office, London.

† Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS. Nero, B. xi., 331.

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and his family. We reproduce the text of these two letters hereunder from the original rough drafts.

ELIZABETH TO IVAN BASILY.

[There are extant in the Office three rough Public Record drafts of the letters of Queen Elizabeth to the Czar John Vassilivich which were to be sent in answer to his two letters brought by his ambassador Andrew Sovin, and dated from Vologda on the 20th of June, 1569. From these drafts it appears that at first it was proposed to give but one answer to the two letters, but afterwards (it may be presumed at the request of Sovin) the original draft was divided into two separate ones, of which the second (with the exception of the commencement) was at first inserted in the primitive draft. These letters are here reproduced in their final form under *A* and *B*. The corrections in the original are in the handwriting of Lord Burleigh: those made in the first draft are here printed in italics, those in the last are enclosed in brackets.]

LETTER A.

Because we vnderstand from you Emperour and great Duke our good brother first by the report of our trustie servant Anthony Jenkinson whom we sent as our ambassadour to you *the* emperor, certen yeres past, and now last by your embassadour the noble parson Andrew Gregoriwiche Saviena and with hym your secretary Sevastyana whom ye sent to vs as your highnes ambassadours in company with our last ambassadour Thomas Randolph, that you the said emperour do ernestly deseir to enteir into some streight contracts of amity with vs, and for that purpose where the said Andrew Gregoriwich hath delivered vnto vs certen writings in the Russian tongue, which becawse we could not vnderstand for lack of knowledge of that tongue, the said ambassadour hath delivered to vs in certen other writings both in the Romane tongue and in the Italian, which are sayd to be the trew translations of the said lettres in the Russian tongue; both which (wrytyngs) we do well vnderstand and therby do conceave that the said writings are devised only as a forme of such a league and confederation, as you—our deare brother emperour—wold have with vs for a mutuall streight amity, wherevpon we have with good deliberation resolved to accept in most friendly maner this the offer of the good will of so mighty a prince and to contract amity with yow the said emperour, so farr furth as

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the treaties and confederations which we have had of long time and receaved by succession of our progenitors Kings of England (and do yet continew) with ether Christian princes emperours kinges and potentats may *any wise* permitt vs. And in consideration of your the said mighty emperours favour shewd to our *loving* subjects trading your contreys for merchandize and *specially* in respect of your further inward and secret * disposition which by sundry good meanes we are informed ye beare towards vs; we are pleased to contract with you emperour and great duke as followeth with the same words as nere as we may, as we find conteyned in your highnes writings *as they are translated.*

We enter into a frendly and sisterly league to continew for ever with yow—great Lord and Emperour—as a mighty prince and our deare brother Emperour Lord and great Duke of all Russia. Which league we will so observe and kepe for ever, as to bind ourselves with our *mvtuall and* commen forces to *withstand and* offend all such as shalbe common enemies to vs both and to defend both our princely honours the estate of our realmes and contreys and to help ayde and favour eache of vs the other with mutuall helpes and aydes against our common enemies as farr furth as the effect of these our lettres shall stretche.

Then follow in the primitive draft the contents of the secret letter given under B, from the words, "And if at any time yt so mishappe, &c."

(And we will not ayde comefort or suffer any parson or potentate to offend you or your contreys, that we may to our power and by justice with reason stay or impeache.)

(Further more your highnes shall vnderstand that) your ambassadour Andrea Gregorivich (hath bene with vs) at sundry times (and) by his behaviour and discrete vsage of himself, wee do think you the emperour and great duke, have made a very good choice of him as well for the wisdome we perceave to be in him as for the reverence care and duty he beareth vnto your highnes and to the conservacion of your highnes estate and honour, and in all things which he hath communicated to vs, we trust by our answers he hath receaved good satisfaction.

Wherfore we meane not to inlarg our lettres any furder, but do

* These words have been erased.

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give your highnes our harty thankes for the priviledge which your highnes have granted to our trusty and wel-beloved subiects S-r Will-m Garrard Knight and his company, being parsons whom we singulerly do esteme, douting not but your contreys and people shall be ther resort into the same receave great profitt and estimation.

And according to your highnes ambassadors most ernest desires and that only for the love and regard we have to shew your highnes pleasour in your request, we have ben content to license Thomas Glover, to returne vpon his othe and bond that he shall mak full payment to our said merchants of such things as by his accompt he hath confessed to be due to them, douting not but your highnes will of your honour and for love of justice cause him so to do.

And we most ernestly requier you to give furder order that Raff Rutter, Chrestofer Bennett, John Chappell, Francs Byrkett and such others englishmen as our said subiects S-r W-m Garrard and his company shall by name requier, may be safely delivered to be sent into these our contreys as of naturall duty they are bound, who (notwithstandyng ther faults) shall find such favour and mercy at our hands as shalbe reasonably by you required that with our honour we may grant.

And further we requier your highnes to permitt such other honest englishmen our subiects as came over thither of good will and have ben stayed in your service, and are (now very) desirous to returne that they may with your highnes favour come home hither into their native contrey, where they have their wives and children. (Who do dayly mak request to vs for the same purposes.) And in so doing your (highnes) shall minister good cause for many others of like quallities to repaire thether to serve your highnes being such as we know you will for their coming and knowledge much esteme when they shall come.

And so wishing that this intelligence (and amyty betwixt vs twoe maye have long contynvacon and the) mutuall trade betwixt (our subiects) the people of both our contreys may hereafter encrease to both our contentations and (specially) to the honour of Almighty God, who hath ordeyned and chosen kings and princes to employ their (whole) cares to governe and defend the people of God committed to their charge in peace welth and tranquillity for his honour and service. We commit you to the tuition of the same Almighty God.

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Given at our honour of Hampton courte the xviij-th day of the moneth of may in the xij-th yere of our reign and in the yere of our lord one thousand fyve hundred threescore and tenne.

LETTER B.

THE COPPIE OF THE Q-S MAT-IES LETTRES TO THE EMPEROUR OF RUSSIA.—[MAIJ 15, 1570.]

When wee have by other our lettres deliuered to your highnes ambassadour the noble person Andrew Gregoriwiche Savina made aunswere to the greatest part of such messages and lettres as the said ambassador declared and brought to vs, wee haue thought good in some secreite manner to send your highnes for a manifest and certaine token of our good will to your highnes estate and suertye: this our secrit lettre wherevnto none are privie besides our selfe, but our most secreite councell wee doe so regard the suertie of you the Emperour and great Duke, as wee offer that *yf at anie time* it so mishappe that you L. our brother Emperour and great Duke bee by anie casuall chaunce either of secrite conspiracie or outward hostillitie driven to change your countries and shall like to repaire into our kingdome and dominions, with the noble empresse your wife and youre deare children, the princes, wee shall with such honors and curtesies receive and intreate your highnes then, as shall become so great a prince, and shall earnestlie endeavour to make all thinges fall out accordinge to your ma-ties desire, to the free and quiett breedinge of your highnes life, with all those whom you shall bringe with you: and that it maie be lawfull for you the Emperour and great Duke to vse your Christian religeon in such sorte as it shall like you; for nether meane wee to attempt anie thinge to offend either your ma-tie or anie of your people nor intermeddle anie waies with your highnes faith and religeon, nor yet to severre your highnes houshold from you or to suffer anie of yours to be taken from you by violence.

Besides wee shall appointe you the Emperour and great Duke a place in our Kingdom fitt vppon your owne charge, as longe as ye shall like to remaine with vs.

And yf it shall seeme good vnto you the Emperour and great Duke, to depart from our countries, wee shall suffer you with all yours quietlie to depart either into your empire of Muscovia, or els whither

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it shall best like you to passe through our dominions and countries. Neither shall wee anie waie lett or staie you, but with all offices and curtisies let you our deare brother Emperour and great Duke passe into your countrie or elswhere at your pleasure.

This wee promise by virtue of these our lettres and by the word of a Christian Prince, in wittness whereof and for the further fortificacon of this our lettre wee Q. Elizabethe doe subscribe this with our owne hand in the presence of these our nobles and councellors.

Nicholas Bacon Knight great Chauncellor of our Realme of England.

W-m L. Parr L. marques of Northampton Knight of our order of the garter.

Henrie Earle of Arundell Knight of our said order.

Frauncis L. Russell Earle of Bedford Knight of our said order.

Robert Dudley L. of Derbigh Earle of Lecester m-r of our horse and Knight of the same order.

Edward L. Cleaton and Say Lord Admirall of England and Knight of our said order.

W-m L. Howard of Effeingham L. Chamberlayne and Knight of the same order.

Ffrauncis Knolles Knight Treasurer of our house.

James Croft Knight Comptroller of our said house.

W-m Cicill Knight of our Principall Secretarie.

and haue also thereto hanged our privie seale, promisinge that wee against our common enimies shall with one accord fight with our common forces and doe euerie and singuler things menconed in this writinge, as longe as God shall lend vs liffe, and that by the word and faithe of a Prince.

Given at our honor at Hampton Court the xviij-th daie of the moneth of Maie in the xij-th yere of our Reigne, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and tenne.

The contemporary Russian translation of this curious document bears the following inscription:

"This writinge in the Russian tongue is affirmed by Daniell Silvester Englishman, the interpretor of the ambassador of the Emperore of Russia, being sworne upon his othe to be the trew copie

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of the letter, whiche is written in the English tongue by the Queene's Maiestie of England."

Furious that the Queen of England preferred to secure the interests of her merchant subjects rather than assist him in his ambitious projects, the Czar despatched a letter* in reply, couched in gross and insulting terms. He intimated to the Queen that he had protected and favoured the "boorish merchants," as he styles them, not for their own sakes, or from any enlightened motive, but simply to win the good-will and assistance of the English Government. Their countenance being denied to him in any act of aggressive warfare, he now sought to revenge himself by annulling the privileges he had previously granted to the White Sea Company, and seizing their property. We reproduce a faithful copy of the contemporary English translation of the Czar's epistle.

THE COPPIE OF THE MUSCOVITTS LETTRE IN ENGLISH BROUGHT BY DANYELL SILVESTER (1570, 24 Oct.)

Ffor that before time certaine subiects of your brother Kinge Edward namelie Richard Chansler and others beinge sent for some occasion to all people and places and haueinge writinges to all kinges, emperours, dukes, lordes, and rulers (but namelie vnto vs not one word was writren,) and those your brothers subiects Richard and his fellowes, wee know not after what sort whither it were willinglie or vnwillinglie came and anchored in our haven, by the sea side, and to our towne of Dwena, and wee as it behooved a Christian prince, shewed them so much favour that wee received them with honor, and at our princely and appointed dynners, wee of our goodness sent for them, and wee sent them backe againe vnto your brother. And after that it pleased your brother to send the said Richard Chansler and one Richard Graie vnto vs, and wee in like cause shewed our goodnes vnto them and sent them backe againe. And after that your brother sent the said Richard to vs the third time, and there vppon wee sent vnto your brother our messinger Osipe Gregorie Nepeu. And to your brothers marchaunts and to all Englishe men wee gaue our lettres of priviledge so large as the like was given to our

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero, B. xi., 16.

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nation never thinkeinge to haue had received freindshippe of your brother and of you and service of Englishmen. And in the meane time that wee sent our messinger the same tyme your brother dyed, and your sister Marie succeeded his place, and so married with Phillippe King of Spaine, the which kinge and your sister received our messinger honorablie and so sent him backe againe vnto vs. But they sent no word to vs. And at that time your marchaunts did worke much deceipt against our merchaunts, and begann to sell theire weares deare takeinge for all thinges more than thinges were worth. And since that time the Q. your sister died, and that the Kinge Phillippe was sent awaie and that you were crowned Q. of England, and wee all that time did your marchaunts no harme, but willed them to traffique, as they had donne before time.

And how manie lettres haue beene brought to vs hither, and no one lettre that hath beene sealed with one seale, but euerie lettre hath had a contrarie seale, which is no princelie fashion, and such lettres in all places be not creditted, but euerie prince hath in his realme one proper seale; but wee did give credit to these lettres, and accordinge to your lettres wee wrought.

And after that you sent vnto vs your messinger Anthonie Jenkinson aboute the affaires of marchaunts, and wee thinking him to haue had creditt with you, wee had therefore sworne him, and also your marchaunt Raphe Ruttar because of interpretting for that in such weightie affaires wee stood neede of trew interprettinge, and wee sent you by word of mouth of our great and secreat meaninge desireinge freindshippe of you and that you would haue sent ouer to vs some neere and trustie servaunt of yours and Anthonie to haue come with him, or ells Anthonie alone for that wee know not whither Anthonie did tell you all our wordes or no, for wee hard not of him in a yere and a half after, and here came not from you neither messinger neither ambassadour. And therefore wee of our godnes gaue vnto your marchaunts another priviledge thinkinge how to haue beene in good creditt with you and therefore our goodnes was the greater to them.

And after that wee had newes, that a subiect of yours was come to the Narue by name Edward Goodman, which had manie lettres, but wee sent to him to enquire of Anthonie but he told vs nothing of him, and commaunded him to be serched for lettres and wee found

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manie lettres; and in those lettres were written wordes not allowable against our princelie state and empire, how that in our empire were manie vnlawfull thinges donne, and he gaue evill language to our messingers which were sent to him, but wee of our goodnes caused him to be staied honorablie till such time as wee should haue aunswere from you of those affaires that wee sent of to you by Anthonie.

And after that there came from you a messinger to the Narve aboute marchaunts affaires, namelie George Middleton* and wee sent to him to know whither Anthonie were come to you or no, and when he should come from you to vs. But your messinger George vould tell vs nothing of this matter, but did miscall our messingers and Anthonie also and wee commaunded him to be kept, till such time as wee had and knew of the matter, that wee committed to Anthonie.

And not long after that wee were enformed that your ambassadour Thomas Randolph† was come to our porte of Dwena, and wee of our goodnes sent to meete him, the sonne of a gentleman, and wee commaunded the said gentleman to be his guide, and wee did intreate him with great honor and wee commaunded our said gentleman to enquire of him whither Anthonie were with him or no, but he told our gentleman nothinge; for Anthonie was not with him, but all his talke was of bowrishnes and affaires of marchaunts. And when he was come to our empire wee sent vnto him manie times, that he would come and conferre with our counsaile that wee might haue had knowledge of those great affaires that wee sent you word of by Anthonie, but he after a rude manner denyed to come; but he wrote supplicacons against Glover and Rutter and uppon affaires of marchauntdise he writt, but of our princelie affaires he made them of none effect and therefore your ambassadour was keept the longer from our presence and after that our cittie was stroken by the hand of God with the plague, so that it was not possible for vs to give him presence, but so soone as it pleased God to withdrawe from vs the plague of sicknes, wee gaue him presence, and all his talke was vppon marchaunts affaires; and then wee sent vnto him our councellor and captaine of Wologhdaie Duke Afonace Evanovetch Vosemske and our seale

* On the margin, "Midelton." † On the margin "Randall."

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keeper Evan Meholova and our secretarie Andrew Vasilova * wee willed them to enquire of him yf he had commission of those affaires which wee sent you word of by Anthonie and he told them that he had commission for those affaires also there vppon wee did augment our goodnes vnto him after that he was divers times with vs and euer he spake about bowrishe and affaires of marchauntdise and verie seldome would talke with vs of our princelie affaires, and at that time wee had occasion for to ride to our inheritaunce of Wologhdaie and wee gaue commaundment to our gentlemen † that they should conducte him thither, and he beinge ariued thither wee sent vnto him our presaid councellor and our secretarie Peter Gregoreva‡ and willed them to treate with him how those affaires of amitie might be betweene vs, but the talke which your ambassadour had was to establishe marchaunts, and wee willed him to talke with vs of our affaires, and we talked of them and wee did agree how those affaires should passe betweene vs, and then wee wrote our lettres, and to our lettres wee sett our seale and then yf they had liked you, that then you would haue caused your lettres to haue beene written and to haue sent some trustie ambassadour, and that Anthonie Jenkinson might haue been sent with him. The cause which wee were so desirous to haue had Anthonie Jenkinson to haue come, was that wee would haue knowen of him whither he did declare vnto you the wordes which wee commaunded him to tell you by mouth, and to haue knowen of him whither the wordes did like you, or no, and how you were minded of that matter. And so wee sent in companie with your ambassadour our ambassadour, Andrew Gregoriwch Savin.

And you haue sent vs our ambassadour backe, but you haue not sent your ambassadour to vs, and you haue not ended our affaires§ accordinge as your ambassadour did agree vppon your letters be not thereto agreeable, for such weightie affaires be not ended without some golde || or without ambassadours, but you haue set aside those

* Prince Athanasius Ivanowich Viasemsky, John Mikhailof, and Andrew Vassilef.

† On the margin, "Reported by m-r Randolf honorablie."

‡ Peter Gregorief.

§ On the margin: "Former lettres of the Q to be seen how much is aunswered and a fitt aunswere to be now made, and the lettres framed and brought by the Russ. Ambassadour to be seene."

|| Incorrect translation: the original signifies, "without confirmation by oath."

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great affaires, and your councell doth deale with our ambassadour about marchaunts affaires; and your marchaunts Sir W-m Garrard and Sir W-m Chester did rule all business. And wee had thought that you had been ruler over your lande and had sought honor to yourself and profitt to your countrie, and therefore wee did pretend those weightie affaires betweene you and vs. But now we perceive that there be other men that doe rule, and not men but bowers and merchaunts the which seeke not the wealth and honour of our maiesties, but they seeke there owne profitt of marchauntdise: and you flowe in your maidenlie estate like a maide. And whosoeuer was trusted in our affaires, and did deceave vs, it were not meete that you should creditt them.

And now seeinge it is so, wee doe sett aside these affaires. And those bowrishe marchaunts, that haue beene the occasion that the pretended welthes and honors of our ma-ties hath not come to passe but doe seeke theire owne wealthe, they shall see what traffique they shall haue here, for our cittie of Mosco before their traffique to it, hath not greatlie wanted Englishe commodities. And the priviledges that wee gaue to your marchaunts and sent to you, that you would send it vs againe and whither it be sent or no, wee will give commaundement that nothinge shalbe donne by it, and all those priviledges which wee haue given aforetime be from this daie of none effect.

Written at our honor of Mosco since the fundation of the world 7079 yeres the xxiiij daie of October.

As soon as intelligence of these high-handed proceedings reached London, the Directors of the Company invoked the intervention of the Queen. A special messenger, Robert Best, was despatched to inquire how "her subjects had incurred such disgrace." The queen was aware of the fact that shipwrights and other artificers hired by Sovin had not been permitted to leave England; and that duty had been charged on the Russian goods imported. These acts (and not her refusal to sign the treaty as the Czar demanded) were, as Elizabeth at first fancied, the causes of his anger. But the Czar did not leave the Queen long in doubt. In the following letter* dated August, 1571, he himself speaks plainly:—

*Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero, B. xi., 341.

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Czar John to Queen Elisabeth.

[At the end of this copy is written : "The lyk. letter was sent" from the Emperor of Moscovia to Phillip and Mary in high Duch dated in February.]

Wheiras you haue sente vnto vs your servaunte Robert* withe a letter wherein you have wrytten vnto vs that Wyllyam Gerrart and William Chester, after the monneth of September last past by manye and diuers menne and writtinges have hadde intelligence that the goods off the merchaunts (and their servaunts also) were stayed, and kepte straigtlie vnder areste vnder owre jurisdiction, the which was at the first not onelie scarslie beleved, but rather thought to be a vayne dispersed rumer as in your conscience you did iudge it to be; and that there has neither by you, nor by any ells any soche offence comitted or done, as shoulde meritte the same, and that oure imperiall ma-tie therefore must nott be offended, and that it ys well knowne vnto you what greate frendship there hath bene betwixt vs manye yeares and the great advancement and trewe dealinge that hath bene showed vnto your subiects, and likewise also the newe compacte and agreement which of late hath bene concluded betwixt vs and that therefore you cannot departe from the same, nor withdrawe your frendshipp from vs. So that we might be good and christian rulers together.

But consideringe that there haue bene vnto you letters uppon letters, making mencion thereof at the earneste instance and request of the sayde merchaunts you coulde not forbeare to wryte vnto our highnes, and so far forthe as the same letters were founde be trewe, that th' envious doo aunswere and if the letters be not trewe, yt may be possible that the dissobedient not being our ffrends have doone itt to alter and change owre hartes, and soe saye those that doo houlde the forsayde rumore to be trewe, and that those shoulde be the causes of the stayinge of the goodes.

Ffirste, because certayne freebuters mariners the which owre highnes ambassadors Andrewe Grogergewich Sawin hadd taken vppe, shoulde haue bene stayed in your dominions, and not permitted to come vnto vs. That our subiects did paye custome for their goods and wares that they hadd brought, with our ambassador vnto you: and that you shoulde not have esteemed owre ambassador

* Robert Best.

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beinge with you and that the same hathe bene soe devised by soche as being currupt by giftes theirvnto; or by reason of their owne private profittie and comoditye cannot abyde any suche greate frendshipp in the trade of merchaundize betwixt our people sayinge that the ambassadors (or howesoever they are otherwise named) shoulde neuer haue spoken to you nor to your merchants concernynge the sendinge over of maryners vnto vs and as towchinge the custome, you haue so favourabley, and lyberallye dealed; as ever any ambassador was deallte withall, howe great soever he was. And as touchinge the ambassadeur himselfe; that it most manyfest be knowne to all menne that all honor and ffrendshipp hath bene shewed vnto him refferinge your self to the wittness of all them that haue bene present, and of th' ambassadour him selffe. Prayinge therefore earnestly oure highnes that (you being our sister) your persuasion might have more creditte then the evilldisposed people, that the enymyes and evill willers to our mutuall amytye and frendshippe and cannot abyde the trade of merchaundize that is betwene vs and you, we woulde shewe our selves good and gracious towards your subiects, as they knowe they have deserved itt by their service towards owre ma-tye. That our harte hath conceived anger by the evill reporte of evilldisposed people and that we woulde by wrytinge advertisse you thereof, and that at the instaunce of your people you had sent vs your letter, to th' ende we might suffer your merchaunts freely to traffike over all our dominions. Troughe the great ffrendshipp and the new compact made betwixt vs and in consideracon of the mutuall comoditie and profytte betwene our subiects; and you doute nothinge thereof, but hope that itt will lyke vs well.

We have redde qute your letter, and well understanden the same, and we have written vnto you before withe Daniell * the interpreter: yt may please you to looke vpon the same letters, and their to see the occasion of our anger vpon your highnes; and whereas you have written that Willin Garrett and Willin Chester have gyven you the knowledge beinge gouerneours of the foresaide marchaunts, lett vs vnderstande what manner of men they be with you. Yf they be men of warre with you so ys itt raisonable, butt if they be marchaunts so were it against reason to wryte for them: as not beinge worthy of ytt; and that they have sayde as concernynge merchaundize, the same

* Daniel Sylvester.

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cann you aske your merchaunts Vlgan Garrethe and Vlgan Chester, howe that our ambassadour Andre Gregorivitch Savin hath bene with you, and they have lette our matters and exercyced marchaundize, and nowe have the vnderstandinge what gaynes and profittes they have vpon the merchaundize and what goods and wares have bene taken. And the same ys happened, bycause that your merchaunts have employed themselves to their trade of marchaundize and not to our matters, and have disdayned our merchaunts and not esteemed them as righte merchaunts; and have not suffered them to buye anye good wares.

And you have not kiste the crosse vppon the letter in the presence of Andrew our ambassadeur, and not done that which of right is vsed to be donne. And so far forthe as you will have our frendshipp towards you, send vnto vs your good servaunte Antona* and then will we with the same your ambassador conclude of all things that may tend to mayntayne our frendshipp, and also commvne togither concernynge the same goods which you have written for: as touchinge the marinor, we have not bene angrye, he hath brought vs oure ambassador, and as concernynge the custome, we have harde nothinge, neither hath anye mane thereof made any complaynt vnto vs; our ambassador hath bene entertayned and served of vittels, and that shoulde wee vnderstande off your ambassador Robert and havinge asked him, he hath spoken vnto vs by the same wordes that were wrytten in your letter, and we haue caused aunswere to be gyven vnto hym vpon his talke, accordinge as we haue wrytten vnto you in our letter, and as concernynge the talke that your ambassador Robert hath had towchinge Thomas Greene and Raffe,† to th' end wee might shewe them grace and send them to you. Howe be yt those your merchaunts whyles they have bene vnder oure jurisdiction have very ewill behaved themselues, and haue daylie vsed the companye of our trayteurs both in frendshipp and councell, wee beinge a christian governor haue doone no hurte to them, and so far forthe as all things doe falle owte well betwixt vs, and amytye and frendshipp doe contynewe we will delyver Raffe vnto you: and Thomas Greene ys accordinge to the will of God departed: and whatsoever you have wrytten concernynge the traffique and trade of merchaundize that shalbe donne whensoeuer your ambas-

* Anthony Jenkinson. † Ralph Rutter.

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sador shalbe come layinge downe our angre, and agreeinge towching the angrye matters. And so will be carefull of all matters vntill your ambassador be come to vs and talke of them: and vntill soche tyme, canne we not helpe the matter; and yf you meane nowe to have frendshipp with vs: you will send your ambassador by tymes.

Written at the Schlebode, anno 7079 (1571), in the month of August. "And even nowe have we hadd tydings that Anthonye is here arrived, and when Anton cometh vnto vs, we will gladlye here hyme, and forther advertise you thereof," adds the Czar at the end of his letter.

Jenkinson was, indeed, already in Russia, and had despatched Daniel Sylvester, an Englishman acquainted with the Russian language, to announce his arrival and request permission to come to Moscow. That messenger, and another subsequently despatched, were detained in this journey on account of the plague then raging at Moscow. For four months Jenkinson remained at Kholmagora, hearing dreadful accounts of the confiscation of English goods; of the burning of Moscow by the Crimean hordes, in which twenty-five Englishmen and the Czar's favourite physician Arnolph Lindsay, perished; and of the constant massacres of the nobility which made the latter years of Czar John a veritable "reign of terror." At last the Czar consented to see him, and he was admitted to two interviews at Alexandrovskaya Sloboda and Staritza, which are fully described in the pages of Hakluyt.*

The result of these conferences was that the question of a secret treaty of alliance was waived for the time; the English merchants were graciously pardoned, and their privileges restored. At the same time arrived Queen Elizabeth's dignified response to the Czar's insulting epistle. "No merchants," writes the daughter of Henry the Eighth, "govern our country for us; but we rule it ourselves with the rule befitting a virgin queen appointed by God; and no sovereign has more obedient subjects, for which we render thanks to God."

* Hakluyt's "Navigations," pp. 455, 456, 549, and 550.

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On the 23rd June, 1572, his mission being ended and his object attained, Jenkinson sailed for England with a letter from the Czar, of which a copy is appended.*

CZAR JOHN TO Q. ELIZABETH.

You have sent to us your ambassador Anthony Jenkinson with your letters. And in those letters you wrote to us that you wish our favour and our love and you wrote to us on other matters. And Anthony told us some speeches on his ambassage; the which letters and speeches of your ambassador Anthony we did hear. And this you do wisely that you wish for our favour and our love. And the business about which you wrote to us in your secret letter, the time for this business is past, because such business amongst princes cannot be done without an oath and furthermore this business has tarried too long. And when we sent to you our ambassadour Andrew Sovin about this business you did not write anything to our imperial majesty on this matter about the oath, but wrote only about trade. And whereas you wrote in your letter with your ambassador Anthony that you do not so much desire to be in such brotherly love with any as with our imp. ma-ty, you do wisely that you seek for our favour and brotherly love. And our imp. ma-ty wishes to keep you in our love. And whereas you wrote to us about your merchants, that we should grant them in our dominions liberty of trade according to our former privileges and give to your merchants our charter for their trade. And for your sake we have granted to your merchants and ordered them in all our realms to trade free and have given order to let them pass out of our dominions into any other dominions according to their wish without any lett or hindrance. And we have ordered for your sake to give them a charter of priviledges such as is convenient. And we have lovingly received your letters which you sent to our imp. ma-ty brought by your ambassador Anthony. And therefore our imp. ma-ty wishes to keep love unto you.

Given in our dominion of the granduchy of Tver in Staritza in the year 7080 May.

Arriving in London Jenkinson gave an account of his embassy, and presented to the Company a memorial of his

* Public Record Office, London.

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twenty years' travel in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Russia, which concludes in these terms:—"And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting myselfe in that my seruice hath bene honorably accepted and rewarded of her Majesty and the rest by whom I have bene employed."

In 1573 Daniel Sylvester, the new agent of the Company, was despatched to Russia, returning in the following year with a letter from the Czar to Queen Elizabeth,* which is appended.

CZAR JOHN TO Q. ELIZABETH [Aug. 20, 1574].

You have sent to us your messenger Daniel Sylvester with your letter; and in your letter you write to us about the letters which were brought to you in the month of July; and from the letters which Daniel your interpreter brought unto you, you have understood that we have shown great favor to your merchants,' have allowed their directors Thomas Bannister, Geofrey Ducket and Nicholas Proctor, according to your demand, to have free trade in our realms. And what have we done in the business of Thomas Glover and Ralph Rutter and their confederates who lived disorderly and did much harm?—we have driven them out of our empire. And we did it from our love, for that you honor us and send us often your greetings; because the said Glover did not trade for England, but only cheated his companions, who did not trade according to our privileges but brought trade from other countries, from France and Germany.—And your interpreter Daniel told you that when he was in our town of Novgorod he was apprised by our governors that many Englishmen stood up against us with the Swede and fought against our people; you wish to know from us if what your interpreter Daniel has told to you be true, as it is not known to you, because you do not intend to change your word and your pledged faith and do not wish to suffer by them; and will not in future send any merchants but those who are faithful to you, and known by name, and trusty; that those who have been in the lands of our enemies, should not come to trade in our land; and that you will contrive that such disagreements should not continue between us and that we should not bear any indignation against your merchants. And you greatly pray us that we should punish those

* State Paper Office, London.

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English merchants, who come without your order and apart from your merchants, spoil the trade and promote quarrels and treasons between us. And in case it should be so, your merchants sent many wares with William Merrick as their chief, praying that we should favour him and keep him safe. And that the said Thomas Glover who traded in our empire and took from his companions much merchandise on credit and gave many bonds under his signature and remained in debt for 10,868 roubles; and that now when he came to you from Moscow he has by judgement been proved guilty, and lies now in gaol for this money and has nothing to make payment of it. And you pray us, according to our maties former privileges to pay it out of his property to your merchants that they should not suffer any loss, as he has nothing more to repay it. And that the rumour has come to you that we have taken from your merchants and from your society near Moscow in the Alexandrovskaia Sloboda English wares to the amount of 6,600 roubles, which sum we took upon us to repay to your said merchants. And that your ambassador Anthony Jenkinson told you that before your letter came they had received their money, for which you give us thanks. And you also pray us much that we should favorably receive the request of your merchants to order their debts to be repaid them by our subjects and by others, according to our privilege, which we have granted them that they might willingly bring their wares into our empire, and faithfully and trustfully serve us. And that after the time when Andrew had the direction of their trade in Novgorod and Narva and for their treason which was done by Thomas Glover and his confederates he was punished for his treason and the wares of his companions which were in his hands were by our ma-ty confiscated and given into custody. And you pray us that if there be any fault of his to pardon him, and to grant that those wares which are not his but his companions should be given back, in order that the fault should fall on the culprit and that the innocent should not suffer for the guilty. And that you hope we should do all this for you according to your prayer; and that we may everlastingly expect every friendship from you, our loving sister. And that our ma-ty and prosperity may continue for many years everywhere with great glory and honor.

Also your servant Daniel told us your words that there have happened on the eastern seas great disturbances and freebooting

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against all merchants and that the Swedish king disturbs and makes war by consent with the Polish king and the Polish authorities, and they are agreed not to let pass any mariners out of the dominions of our empire and out of our port of Narva in order to do prejudice to us and to our estate. And that you inform us of this not willing to violate your pledged word. And that if the kings of Poland, of Sweden and of France make this agreement, you promise to furnish what shall be requisite to us and to fill our royal treasury with any goods wanted through your merchants by the way of our northern countries, where we have given free trade according to your request.

And we have heard your letter and do understand the same. Whereas you wrote to us in your letter that your interpreter Daniel told you that many Englishmen stood up with the Swede against us; and you wish to know from us if it be true; and you will not change your word and your pledged faith. And afore this we sent to you our nobleman Andrew Grigorievich Sovin about some affair and you transmitted this affair to your counsellors and did not treat this affair yourself because of your maidenly state. And your counsellors set aside this great affair and did deal about boorish merchant affairs, and by this cause this affair came to nothing. And whereas we have given a privilege to the merchants of your country according to your request, that they may come and live in our dominions under our empire, and traffic with all sorts of wares without exception, and go and trade through all our dominions without paying any custom. And the merchants of your country began to live in our dominions under our empire joining our traitors—whoever betrays us becomes their friend—and in every way they began to give them aid, and they concealed the goods of our traitors, living in our empire not as becomes merchants but thieving and spying and taking the side of our enemies that Lithuanian and the Swede. And your subjects began to come with the Swedes to make war on our borders. Even until now they continually do every mischief and iniquity to our ma-ty and everywhere and in every way do prejudice to our realm and have committed many iniquities in our empire, and this was the cause of what befell them. For the future you must order that those of your merchants who come to us, should be good men, who should be only occupied with their trade, be trusty and not spies, so that they should not misbehave them-

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selves in our empire and not side with our enemies, but live and trade in our empire, according to our ma-ties orders and to the last privileges, which we have graciously granted to your merchants at your request unto us.

Whereas you wrote in your letter to our ma-ty, that Tho. Glover remained in debt to his companions for 10,868 roubles and that you pray our ma-ty to pay this sum to the said merchants out of his goods, which we took from Thomas during our displeasure because your subjects stood up against us and hired themselves to our enemy the Swede. It is not suitable to give back these goods, and those who gave them must loose them, because they gave them to an evil minded man. And there is no country, where one, who comes from a foreign land, can live by evil practices and by spying. And he ought to be judged and condemned not only to the loss of his goods but even to the loss of his head. Every merchant in foreign countries deals in trade and not in spying and in evil practices. And those your subjects for their evil practices and their spying have come to deserve even death; but we, being a Christian prince and not wishing to see the blood of such wretches, did not order them to be put to death. As regards Ralph (Rutter) and Thomas (Glover) we sent them to you before this and you ought not to write to us any more about them, the more so as Anthony has already had our answer about them; you may know it yourself if you question Anthony. Also the goods of your merchants who are in Vologda have been confiscated because your men rose against us with our enemy the Swede and because our merchants Stephen Tverdicof and Phedot Pogorely have not been honorably entertained in your country and because free trade has not been granted to them.

(You write that) at your request we might graciously give favorable hearing to your merchants about that which they shall beg from us about the paying of the debts due to them by our subjects and by others, according to the privileges, which we have granted to them to make them the more willingly bring wares into our realm and serve us in all things faithfully and trustfully. —In future you ought to send us in our empire good men, who will do nothing but trade and be trusty, without dealing in any evil practice or in any way siding with our enemies and our traitors. And we are willing to show them favor at your request according to our last letter of privileges and shall order to give them satis-

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faction according to our imperial regulation and let them be indemnified for their wares.

Whereas you wrote to our ma-ty in your letter about what may concern our subjects in our imperial judgement on Andrew Tector (Nicholas Proctor ?) who was chief of your merchants in Novgorod and Narve and whose goods have been confiscated together with those of Thomas. His goods have been confiscated for the same reason that your subjects rose against us.

And whereas your servant Daniel has told our ma-ty from you by speech that there are great disturbances and freebooting on the Eastern seas, the king of Sweden by agreement with the king of Poland and his authorities making these disturbances and piracy; and that you, not willing to violate your pledged word make it known to our ma-ty and promise to furnish us with all the princely and precious wares we require and to fill our treasury with any goods we need through the way of our northern countries by your merchants, to whom we have given privileges at your request. Our ma-ty even without your request did open the northern way to our empire by the Dwina and by our last letters of privileges did permit your merchants to come into our empire with every sort of merchandise; and we are willing to provide for their safety and favor them as shall be convenient for the sake of our loving request.

And we have dismissed your servant Daniel with these letters without any delay. And if you wish for more amity and friendship from us, ponder upon that subject and do that business, by which you may increase our amity towards you.

Order also your men to bring to us for sale ammunition, and arms, and copper, and tin, and lead, and sulphur.

Written in our dominion the granduchy of Twer. The year from the creation of the world 7082, the 20th day of the month of August; indiction 2. Of our age the 41st, and of our empire of Russia the 28th, of Kazan, the 21st of Astrakhan the 19th.

Sylvester reported that the Czar was still furious because the English Government showed no disposition to renew the negotiations for a treaty of alliance. About the same date the privileges of the English traders were restricted, and a duty from which they had hitherto been exempt was imposed on the goods they imported. Having delivered this report

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Sylvester expressed his opinion that unless the queen consented to sign the treaty so eagerly desired by the Czar, the English trade in Russia would be entirely ruined. Although astonished to find the Czar returning to the vexed question of the alliance which she had imagined to be definitely abandoned, Elizabeth took prompt measures to provide for the protection of the lives of her subjects in Russia, which might be endangered by any careless action or any delay on her part. She resolved to despatch Sylvester with a letter to the Czar, accompanied by the most minute instructions for his conduct of the affair. He was charged to convey the assurance of her good-will, to apologize for any offence that might have been given by the English residents, and to explain that no *English* subjects had served in the Swedish army against him, unless a few adventurers beyond the pale of the law and some Scottish soldiers of fortune. With regard to the secret treaty, he was to be exceedingly reserved; but if hard pressed might request the Czar to send a special messenger to England to confer on the subject.

The full text of Sylvester's instructions is subjoined.

Instruccons giuen by here Ma-tie the of May 1575 Silvester being then sent to the Emperor of Russia.

After the deliuery of our letters you shall let him vnderstande that we accepte in verie good parte, the good conceipte he hath of our goodwill and meaninge towardes him, being perswaded that we greatlie mislike as we doe in verie deed the evill vsing and behavor of our subjects towardes him whome we alwaise wished and charged so to gouerne them selues in all theire trafficque and dowinges within his dominions, as the amitie between us, and the entercorse of our countries mighte there by rather be conseruied, then by anie meanes deminished or broken of.

And in handlinge of this pointe, to witte, how well we accepte his good perswasion of our foresaid mislikeing you shall especiallie shew our good brother, how greate likeinge we haue of his princelie and plaine manner of dealing in that his contens (?) soe fraunkely to vtter the ground and cause of his indignacon: which we cannot but interprite as an argument that he highlie esteemethe our frindshipe and

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desireth the continuance of the same in that he seketh to remoue the groundes of vnkindese as mighte impaire our said frindship.

But forasmuch as the said empror our good brother at your last cominge frome thence comitted vnto you, twoe speciall matters to be imported unto vs; one of the yll demenor of our marchaunts exercisinge theire tread in his dominons, the other of certaine our subjects (as he is informed) servinge the King of Swaden in his warres against him, to the which he looketh by you at your returne to receave answer and satisfaccon, and alsoe shewed himself to be not a little greved towchinge a message of greate seacretie sent vnto vs longe sence by our seruant Antonie Jenkinson, to whome about a three yeares paste we returned our answer wherein as yet he conceaueth he hath hade no directe answere made vnto him; our pleasuer is that toucheing all these three points you saye and doe accordinge to this our dereccon folloing.

And first for our merchaunts you may assuer him that watoseuer they haue donne heretofore ether by transportinge out of our dominons such commodities as warre not merchauntable, or by colloringe of straungers goods to the defraudinge of his customes, or by ratelying (*retailing*) of warres contrarye to theire pryuileges hath byn downe not only without anie our knowledge, or alowance thereof but alsoe much against our will and pleasuer, and as we are informed the offences growing by our sayd merchaunts retayling there and colloring his subiectes goods, was committed cheiflie by certaine euill seruantes of our merchauntes withoutt concente of theire whole compagnie and gouernors and now of late also reformed whereof we are right glad. As to that our subiectes trading thither be charged to haue vsed some lighte and comtempteouse behauior to the defaceinge of such devine seruice and religon as our good brother and his hole countrie vseth; you maye saie that we can hardlie be perswaded that anie of them would haue so littele regarde to themselues and all that they haue therein to (*incur the?*) apparant daunger of soe mightie an emperors indignacon, as he is. But for his better satisfaccon in this behaulfe, yf anie such faulte haue byn or is comitted we haue giuen and doe give comaundement to our subiectes there havinge the gouernement of our said merchaunts that as they tender our good will and favor towardes them and contrarie wise feare our highe displeasuer soe to haue an especiall care that henceforward no

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such offence be mynistred: and also that our merchauntes them selues doe as quietly as becometh them and accordinge to the liberties and priuileges graunted vnto them by our saide brother within there owne hovse that form of comon prayer and exercises of religion which they knowe to be agreeable to our lawes of this our realme, and non other. And hereof we charge you to let the gouernour, and hole companie of our subiectes there haue knowledge and commaundemente given them in our name by you, to th' end they maye not onlie give no offence to the naturall people of that countrie but onelie most of all to God, in conforminge themselues contrarie to theire knowledge and consiences to the religion of that people more to serve the time and place then for anie true devocon they can haue therevnto.

Secondarelie: whereas he hath byn informed that certaine of our subiects, haue of late serued the Kinge of Sweden, in his warres against him, and requireth that we tooke some order, that hereafter none of our naturall subiects serue anie of his enemies, you maye declare vnto him that excepte per adventuer some one or fewe of our disobedient subiectes whoe hauinge deserued punishment to avoide the daunger of our lawes, haue fled to forraine parties and soe serued the saide kinge: he may be well assured that none other by our knowledge or allowance hath or shall serue ether the Kinge of Sweden or anie other prince against him. And for the better removing cleane awaie of this occason of vnckindenes, which our brother hath or maie conceaue, you shall constantlie affirme vnto him that we know not soe much as one of our subiectes ether loyall or disloyall that haue borne armes anie where against him. The error of misinforming our good brother grewe hereof that certeine Scottes, as we haue learned to the number of fower thowsand, whoe vse one language with vs and our poeople and inhabete within the self same island that we doe: serued of late the saide King of Sweden: with (which) Scottes beinge a kingedome of themselues and subiectes to ane absolute prince of theire owen, over whom we have noe more power then over any the dominions of ouer good brother, we can in noe wise commaunde or restraine but at theire pleasuers, they will serue as mercynarie souldiers, wheresoeuer they be offred enterteynement to theire contentacon. And therefore we desier ouer good brother to accepte this our answer, which as it is most true, soe we hope it will satisfie him.

Touching the laste pointe whereas he conceaueth that he hath

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receaued no directe answer to the secrat message deliured to Antonie Jenkinson, it semeth to vs verie straunge for that the saide Anthonie at his returne declared vnto vs that our said brother rested verie well satisfied with our answere; notwithstaunding for theire satisfacon you shall declare to his owne personne and to none other that which we haue by word of mouthe delyuered vnto you.

And if you shall perceaue that he shall not reste contented there with, but shall desier to send some speciall messenger heither to vs for to requier confirmaçon by the othe of the league alreadie passed betwene vs then can we be content to yeald theireunto. And yet would we haue you vse all the perswasions you maye to diswade him from the same, soe farre forth as it may breede no alienacon in him towardes our subiectes that trafficque in that our (his) countrie. And if you shall see that by noe reasons you can vse he can be diswaded from sendinge: then would we haue you declare vnto him that we thinke it necessarie (to th' end that the conteantes of the league may be kepte secrate) that he sende some trustie minister and seruante of his heither vnto vs in priuate soule (sort?) without any pompe or outward shewe: for that otherwise it will make the subiects that are hereof those princes that are not the beste affected vnto our good brother the empror whoe greatlie mislike and envie the good amitie and friendlie intelligence betwene vs, to be more curious to searche and vnderstand the grounde of the league that passeth betwene vs when they shall see a personage of make and countenance sent hither. And thoughe we haue an especiall care to haue all things that passe betwene vs kepte verie secrate yet we seeinge by experrience that curious searchers doe sundrie times gett light of things of greatest secreatie we canot but wish all occasons remoued that might anie waie breade a discouery of that which soe necessarlie is to be kepte secreat.

To conclude therefore you shall assure the emperor from vs, that we doe make that valewe and accompte of his frindshipe and good will he professeth towardes vs as theire is nothinge that he can demaunde of vs which with our hounor and good satisfaccon of our subiects may convenientlie be graunted that we will denie vnto him.

The above part of the instructions having been delivered to Sylvester, he found them insufficient in certain respects, which he explained in a note, which has been pre-

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served, under the heading "Sylvester's memorial of Aug. 20, 1574," in the Record Office in London, of which the following is a copy.*

The two points wherein th' emperours ma-tie findeth himselfe not fully satisfyed are thes.

The first is for that her ma-ty hauinge graunted to confirme by oth thos thinges which by patent vnder her hand she hath sent him she will not permitt her counsail to signe it.

The second concerneth a request to be made by her m-tie to repeate each article of his, and to require the same to be as firmly yelded vnto and confirmed with like assuraunce vnto her highnes as of his part he expecteth from her.

Herin consisteth his whole mislike, wherin if he might be to his contentment satisfyed, it would cause great security to the state of the company and greatè commoditye in trades. And further by his good satisfaction, they might be restored to theire former priuiledges and thes disturbers of theire trades, I meane thos that trade beinge not of the company by whom they receaue no small discommodity might be quitt rooted oute and banished those places, which withoute the spetial fauour of the prince there cannott be doon.

The following additions were made to Sylvester's instructions, in consequence of this memorial†:—

Whereas we conceave the secreate message you delivered vnto vs from the emperor to stand in two points. The one that he should mislike our refusall to confirme by othe the league agreed on at the tyme of his ambassador beyinge here, as that it was not subscribed by our counsellers hands: the other, that he found it straunge that wee should make some scruple to require like assurance of refuge at his hands, as wee gave vppon his request made vnto vs for the same graunted vnto him.

Ffor the fyrst you shall declare vnto him, that thoughe wee had well hoped that he had conceaved so honorably of vs that no othe could have drawen vs to a more sinceare performance of our promise delivered in writynge signed with our hand, than the great respect wee beare to the mayntenance of our princely word, as in

* Daniell Syluester concerninge his yornaye to Mosco.

† A contemporary copy of these instructions is preserved in the British Museum, Cotton, Nero, B. xi., 343 and 393.

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honor wee are bound; yet the only and chiefe cause why wee yealded not to the confirmation of the same by othe grewe of the great respect wee had to have the contents of the sayd league kept secreat (a thynge no lesse earnestly by him required, than iudged by vs of itselfe most necessarie considerynge of what importance it was towards him) which with no possibilitee could have been performed with that sollemnitie that is vsuall in that behalfe. For the leagues which wee confirme by othe doe ordinarily passe our greate seale; which can not be done but that the same must runne throughe the hands of so great a numbre of our ministers as in no possibilitie they can be keapt secreat.

And as touchynge his mislikynge that the league was not signed by our cowncell, you maye tell him that such thinges as are signed by our selfe are never signed by our councell.

For that it is held a kynd of abasement of the state and qualitie wee should to have any ioyned with vs in that behalfe.

For the other point touchinge a request to be made by vs vnto him for assurance of refuge in case of necessitie, you shall declare vnto him that yf our subiects should never so litle conceave that wee grewe into anie doubt or suspicion of anie chawnge or alteration in them towards vs (as wee knowe they would by consentynge to the makinge of suche a request) yt would breed so dangerouse a mislikynge in them towards vs, as might put vs in perill of our estate. Whiche thinge wee knowe our good brother, in respect of the great goodwill he protests to beare towards vs, wold be lothe to drawe vs vnto. And therefore wee hope he will accept in good part this our answeare touching the sayd points.

Armed with these instructions Sylvester repaired to Moscow, where he was received by the Czar on the 29th November, 1575. To the astonishment of the English envoy, the Czar informed him gravely that, afraid of treachery, he had abdicated in favour of Simeon, the (Tartar) Prince of Kassimof, who was invested with all the insignia of royalty. Had the English Queen, he declared, acceded to his request, his sway would have been strengthened, and every liberty extended to her subjects in his empire. A full account of this interview is appended.*

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero viij., 18 and 19.

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A NOTE OF SPECHE THAT TH' EMPEROUR OF RUSSIA VSED VNTO ME DANIUELL SILUESTER IN HIS CITTYE MUSCO AND HOWSE OF OPRISHENO THE 29 NOVEMBER 1575.

We cannot but againe renewe our first conseaved vnkyndenes for the not accomplishinge of our affayres when first we did pretend them, for we commytted the message vnto the reporte of Anthony, in moste seacrett sorte, none of owrs beinge pryuie thearvnto, but onely one councilor; owr selfe convayed him throughe our seacrett passadges, familiarlie discoursed our meanynge vnto hyme in such sorte that we have vsed the like familiarytye with none, and althoughe we vse this lenite in shewinge vs thus favorable to our sister for her sake, yet we knowe and are not to seeke howe to vse vs vnto straungers and to extende vnto eache accordinge to their merytte.

We havinge dismissed Anthony he departed, the springe ensuinge thear arryved from our sistar Thomas Randalle, with ambassadye vnto vs whose embassadge chefly tended for the establishing of merchaunts and towching Glover and Ruttar with other suspected persones.

But as for our affayres whereaboute we thought him to have bene sente, they were nothinge spoken of; whereat we marvelynge yett graunted all requests thinkinge to have founde the like liberalyte towardes us. For the occasion why we pretended those proceedings with our sister was, that we highlye forsawe the varyable and dangerous estate of princes, and that as well as the meanest they are subiect unto chaunge, which caused us to suspect oure owne magnificence and that which nowe inded ys chaunced unto us, for we haue reseyned the estate of our government, which heatherto hath bene so royally maynteyned, into the hands of a straunger who is nothinge alyed unto us our lande or crowne. The occasion whereof is the preverse and evill dealinge of our subjects who mourmour and repine at use, for gettinge loyaull obedience they practice againste our person. The which to prevent we have gyvene them ouer unto an other prince to governe them, but have reserved in our custodye all the treasure of the lande withe sufficient trayne and place for their and our relyefe. And for these and such like occasions did we moshone those proceedings with our syster and to confyrme the same we sent our messenger Andreas Savine; but our purpose was pre-

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uented by practise of trayghtours which interprytyd our meanynge to thear pleasure and misse enformed our syster of vs whos aunswere by him were so contrary to our purpose as nothing might be more. For trulye our onely pretence was to have lyncked us togeather in suche fyrme amyte and thearin so enviolable to have consisted as nothinge shoolde empayre the same to the great proffitts of our magestyes and estates and no lesse vnto owre subiects especially of our sisteres who coulde not have deuised that freedome or lybertye that shoulde have bene denyed them, marvelynge that our sister and her councell considered no better on the messadge the same beinge of soe greate emportaunce.

Moreover we vnderstand of certayne subiects of our sister's resydent in the towne of Lubeck in Saxony whome we suppose to be of the socyetie of Glover whoevse secrett conference with sartayne of our contentoues subiects by letteres commonly passing betwene them concernynge vs ar not to be allowed off. And as such do passe betwixt hem and the evill disposed of our sister whome we wishe by some meanes might be gotten thence eyther by caulinge suche home or otherwise which to do we request our sister.*

This mad freak of the Czar, for it was nothing else, did not long subsist. In two months the "mock Czar" Simeon was consigned to a monastery, and John the Terrible resumed the reins of government. On the 29th January, 1576, Sylvester was summoned to a second interview with the Czar, now in his proper character as "sole sovereign of all Russia." We subjoin the account of the conference, in which the Czar reiterated his former grievance that Queen Elizabeth "preferred affayres of merchaunts, and made of more importance than the affayres of ours whereupon all theire successe shoulde depende," to wit, the secret treaty of alliance. Sylvester, adhering to the letter of his instructions, made a very guarded reply, suggesting that it would be well to send a statement of his grievances and desires to the English government, who alone were empowered to deal with such questions of State. With this the audience agreeably terminated.

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero viii. 18 and 19.

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A NOTE OF SPECHE WITH TH' EMPEROR OF ROWSIA VSED VNTO ME DANIUELL SILUESTER IN HIS TOWNE OF MUSCOUIA THE 29TH OF JANUARY 1576.

We haue pondered vppon the messadge which thou broughteste vnto vs, and fynde the same as vneffectuall as the others before this and in no thinge agreeable to our purpose, nor sufficient to accomplish so heyghe affayres. At which as we not a little marvell, so we imagene the occasion therof to proceede of the information of merchaunts practized vnto by our trayghtors to prevent our securitye. Wherefore we certifye vnto our sister by them, that neather her answeares by our messanger Sauin, nor the ambassadge of Anthony ne this messadge of thyne that ar to our contentment, nor importe that effecte of frendshipp that we espect from our syster. Interpretinge thereby a kynde of haughtynes in our syster moved tharto by th' abasynge of our selfe towards her in that we purpose that with her which she nothinge lesse accoumpteth of.

By which occasion we ar pretended in the like league with th' emperour Maximillian our holy and good brother; ffor who or what prince woulde willingly or without occasion leave or forsake his dignity or land to enthrall hym under the beneuolence of a strange and vnknowne prince? Or who enforside to forsake his lande and dignite will not in that distres of adversite gently submit himselfe to the frendly pleasure of the prince or potentate by whome he ys refugid. Even so by our self that yf contrary to our expectacion we should at any tyme be enforced out of our empire and then succoryde by England or others must in reason yealde vs lyall vnto the auchtoryty of the protectour.

My replye: Your magistye muche myslyketh the aunsweres of the queen's ma-tie my m-res which by sundery have bene brought vnto you. It woulde thearfore please your excellencye to certifye vnto your sister the occasion of your so greate myslike: peradventure her ma-tie vnderstanding the certayntye tharof may satisfye your expectation therin.

His answer: Our mislyke consisteth in the scruple aunsweres of our syster and in the doubtes and acceptions contayned in them (as herein) that she maketh dayntye to requiar the like of us as our requeste is to have of her accordinge to the symple and

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playne meanynge of our demaunds the coppyes were brought by Sauine our messenger in the Italyan and Lattyne tounges.

Moreouer affayres of merchaunts ar preferred and made of more emportance then the affayres of ours wherevpon all theire successe shoulde depende. And how ample our goodnes hathe bene and ys towards them ys aparaunte by the manyfoulde lybertyes whearwith we have graced them.

Also howe beneficiall the commodyties of our countryes to England we pertely vnderstand especially in that we have permitted them to sett vpp howses for the makinge of cordage which benifyte ys not onely profittable to the merchaunts, but very commodious for the whole state of England which to all other nations ys inhibited. Of all the which with the rest of all their lybertyes they ar to be restrayned yf we fynde not further lyberalyte then this from our syster. And will traunsporte the same trade vnto the Veneatianes and Germaynes from whome they receyve most of thear commodityes, whearewith they serve vs; whearin wee will yett staye vntill we shall here from our sister towchinge her determynatioun therin: either a liberall graunte or flatt denyall. For althoughe we manifested to thyne aparaunce to have enthronysed an other in the emperyall dignitye and therevnto have enthrawled bothe vs and others yet not so muche and not the same not so farr resyned, but that at our pleasure wee can take the dignitye vnto vs againe and will yet do thearin as God shall instructe vs, for that the same ys not confirmed vnto him by order of coronacion ne he by assent elected, but for our pleasure. Behoulde also seaven crownes yet in owr possession with the scepter and the rest of the stately ornaments apertaynynge vnto th' empyre with all the treasures belonginge vnto eache.

We taulke vnto thee in owr owne langwadge knowinge they perfection thearin as our (your?) owne wherefore attend the speche well which we commytt to thy memory. Yf our syster hadd so frendlye delte with vs in the accomplishinge of thes affayres as we thought she woulde trewly our whole countrye of Russia hadd bene as much at her pleasure as England ys as frelye to haue sent or commaunded anye thinge thence as out of her owne treasurye or wardrope. Ffynally, the whole dominion had bene at her commaundement as notwithstanding the same ys vnto the merchaunts whoe are as free as in England to ryde and goe when and whether they shall haue occasion, the which to none but vnto them ys adhibetyd.

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But trulye our syster maketh to (too) scruple to accomplishe our request which vnto vs seme bothe reasonable and alsoe commodius for our maiestyes.

To conclude, we haue shewed more favour then sounde frendshipp for that nothinge that since the first hath bene pretended betwixt vs that ar in aney thinge to our expectment accomplished not onely in this her matters but in all other thinges which to fornishe our wante we have sent for, and allwayes served with contraryes, wherefore we have juste occasion to repyne.

So kissinge his hande and the prince his sonnes I was dismissed.

On returning to England with a report of these interviews, it was seen that further delay in the affair would be dangerous. Sylvester accordingly was despatched again to Russia, bearing the Queen's answer. Neither the messenger nor the letter reached the Czar. At Kholmagora, while preparing for his journey to Moscow, Sylvester perished from a stroke of lightning, and with his life ended apparently all knowledge of his mission. For three years after the tragical death of Sylvester, we find no record of any direct communication between the Russian and English courts; indeed, the Czar was too much occupied with his Swedish and Polish campaigns to revive his pet project of an alliance with England.

About the year 1580 the Czar despatched a secret envoy to England to negotiate the purchase of such munitions of war as his campaigns rendered necessary. The messenger was one Jerome Horsey; and the letter for Queen Elizabeth entrusted to his charge was secreted between the false sides of a wooden bottle containing spirits. This was done as there was a risk of his falling into the hands of the Poles or Swedes, and being treated as a Russian spy. To the Czar's request Queen Elizabeth readily acceded, and thirteen ships heavily laden with the munitions required were despatched in the spring of 1581.

The ships arrived in good time, as the warlike King of Poland—Stephen Bathory—was preparing for the invasion

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which terminated in the siege of Pskof, the Treaty of Zapolya, and the loss to Czar John of nearly all his Livonian possessions.

The skill and daring with which Horsey conducted this perilous negotiation commended him to the favour of the Czar, and he became the leader of English enterprise in Russia. To his interesting and valuable narrative, published in London in 1621, under the title of a "Treatise of Russie and the Northern Regions," we are indebted for much information concerning the affairs, manners, and customs of the Muscovite Empire.

In 1582 the Czar sent to England as his ambassador Theodor Andreevitch Pissemsky; and with a brief account of this embassy and the counter-embassy of the English agent Bowes, reproduced from Mr. Tolstoy's valuable work "England and Russia," we may fitly conclude our relation of the events of Czar John's reign, and bring to a close the first part of our paper on the English in Russia.

"They (*i.e.*, Pissemsky and his secretary Khovralef)," says Mr. Tolstoy, "were empowered to bring to a conclusion the negotiation of the league of love and friendship, and to propose a marriage for the Czar with a relation of the Queen Princess Khantinsky (*i.e.*, with Lady Mary Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon)." Pissemsky's English interpreter, Giles Crow, was also instructed to inform the Queen privately that the Czar intended coming to England.

This intention, however, did not remain a secret; public rumour ascribed it to "the wicked German magician, called Eliseus" (Bomelius had been burnt to death at Moscow two years previously), who, according to the Russian annals, had instigated the Czar to flee to England and there marry. This is also very plainly mentioned by Horsey, who during twenty years' residence in Russia, with the exception of a few visits to England, lived constantly at Moscow, where he had admittance to the Czar's court, and personal interviews with John. "Elizius Bomelius deluded the emperower, makinge him

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belive the Queen of England was yonge and that yt was very feacable for him to marry her." *

Both the account in the annals and the remark of Horsey respecting Bomelius are refuted by comparing the dates of the commencement of John's secret correspondence with Elizabeth, the arrival of Bomelius, and the circumstances of the life of John. The message containing John's request for a promise, to be confirmed by oath, that he should have shelter in England was presented by Jenkinson in November, 1567, and Bomelius, who had been imprisoned on account of one of his predictions, was allowed to leave England for Russia, and the petition of Savin, the ambassador of the Czar to Elizabeth, for the negotiation of that refuge, only two years and a half later, in May, 1570. Bomelius also would scarcely have dared to deceive the Czar about the appearance and age of the Queen; Savin had been several times received by her, and during his ten months' residence in England could scarcely have remained ignorant that Elizabeth was already thirty-seven years of age, and only three years younger than the Czar. Besides which the proposals made by him for the hand of the daughter of Sigismund, King of Poland, continued even after her marriage (in 1562), and were only finally given up when the Russian ambassadors were expelled from Stockholm by her husband, John King of Sweden, in July, 1567, that is, two months before the date of the letter brought by Jenkinson. Consequently before the despatch of that letter John could scarcely have contemplated a marriage with Elizabeth. It is also improbable that he could have had such an idea after the return of Savin from England, as towards the end of the following year he married his third wife, Martha Sobakin, and at her death, called a council to authorize his fourth marriage with Anna Koltovskoy.

* For a full and detailed account of Pisseinsky's Embassy, and the affairs connected with it, see our article in the *Reliquary*, (quarterly journal of Archæology, edited by Llewellyn Jewitt, F.L.S., and entitled "Historical Notes relating to Czar John, 'the Terrible,' of Russia and Queen Elizabeth of England," vol. xvi., pp. 1—18 (July, 1875), with illustrations.

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Besides which, in all the interviews of the Czar with Jenkinson in 1572, and with Sylvester in 1575 and 1576, he mentions Elizabeth with an exasperation incompatible with the thought of entering into marriage with her.

By the aid of these indisputable facts, it may be positively affirmed that John had conceived the idea of a flight to England nearly three years before the arrival of Bomelius, and that the tradition as to his intended marriage with Elizabeth is without foundation.

On his arrival in England, Pissemsky could not be immediately received by the Queen, on account of the prevalence of an infectious disease, probably the small-pox, which also attacked the chosen bride of the Czar; the inspection of Mary Hastings, which was also entrusted to Pissemsky, was consequently deferred until her entire recovery, and her portrait, by order of Elizabeth, was forbidden to be taken until the marks left on her face by the illness had become smoother and less inflamed. The negotiations for the league also proceeded very slowly, on account of the inflexibility of the ambassador. The chosen bride herself was evidently but little charmed by the prospect before her, and although there were still living in England contemporaries of the six times wedded Henry VIII., still a young English girl would hardly be captivated by the idea of becoming the sixth or seventh wife of a Czar fifty years old. Thereupon, during the stay of Pissemsky in London, news was received that the present wife of John, Maria Nagoy, had been delivered of a son. Finally, Sir William Russel, who had been named to accompany Pissemsky on his return, refused to go to Russia. The ambassador was weary of his inaction, and with the coming in of spring hurried on the conclusion of the affairs committed to him by the Czar. On the 18th of May he was admitted to see the intended bride, on the 5th of June Sir Jerome Bowes was named ambassador to John, and two weeks later (June 23) Pissemsky and Bowes sailed for Russia.

Bowes received the following most explicit instructions respecting the treaty of alliance.

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COPIE OF INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN TO SIR JEROME BOWES, MAY, 1583.*

Whereas our good brother K. and great Duke of all Russia hath of late sent an ambassadour vnto vs to treate with vs of certeine matters touching his seruice, which require some answer from vs by some especiall minister to be sent theiter. We haue thought good to make choise of you for the service as well in respect of the opinion conceiued by vs of your sufficiency to performe it to our good liking, as for the satisfaction of the said emperor, who by his said ambassadour requested that a gentleman so qualified, as in our opinion you are, might be sent vnto him.

Hauing therefore receiued this charge from vs, and being arriued there, our pleasure is that after deliuery of our letters accompanied with such complements, as in like cases are requisite you shall giue him to vnderstand, in how acceptable sort we take the sending of an ambassadour vnto vs, receiuing thereby great satisfaction and contentment by the report his said ambassadour make vnto vs of his good estate as well of health, as of peaceable and happy gouerment, which was deliuered vnto vs in so good sort, as that we can not but think ourselfes greatly honored by him in sending so graue and wise a counsellour and minister to vs, who hath not failed to performe such good offices as by his carefull trauail therein it seemeth he receiued in charge, and were comitted to his trust.

And as one part of his message was to treate with vs of a league defensiue and offensiue, so you shall declare vnto him, that for his satisfaction therein, and to make it appear vnto him how acceptable that motion was vnto vs, we haue ordered vnto certaine of our councell to conferr with his said minister thereabout, by whom he shall vnderstand what resolution is taken here, the same being deliuered vnto him in writting, wharewith we hope he will rest contended, hauing yeelded (as one that greatly desireth his satisfaction) so farr forth, as may stand with our honnor, and due consideration had of our present state.

And for that his minister did not at the first rest satisfied in some points of our said answer, which we caused to be deliuered to him in writting you shall declare vnto him (in case any occasion be there vnto ministred) that we thought good to referre the further enlargement of our mind therein to you, whom we haue expressely charged

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero, b. viii. 29.

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to make such deliuery of our said meaning in our said answer, as we doubt not shall remoue all matter of doubt, and work that good acceptation in him of our said answer as we desire.

And therefore you shall declare vnto him first that whereas his said minister required of vs that the treatty might be sett downe in the same forme that he deliuered it vnto vs, and our answer accordingly to each point, we thought good for the better explanation of the matters therein comprised, and that our answer might be more orderly framed to cause it to be so distinctly sett downe in articles, as is presented to him, not doubting, but he will conceiue well of our meaning therein, considering that it was done vppon no other respecte, but for the better furtherance of that he most desired, wherein after wee had yeelded our answer to such demands as by his minister was propounded, we found it expedient to adde thereunto a request of our owne, tending to no other end, but to the confirmation of that which he hath allready graunted to our subiects, and we conceiue he meaneth to continue rather with encrease of faeuor then otherwise.

As for that matter of sommars contained in the first article, which his said minister somewhat insisted vppon, that it might be left out for such reasons as he then deliuered, you shall declare vnto him, that we could not assent thereunto, thinking it requisite both in Christianity, and by the law of nations, and common reason not to professe enimity, or enter into effects of hostility against any prince or potentat, without warning first giuen to the party so procuring enimity to desiste from his wrong doing or cause giuing of hostility, which kind of capitulating is vsuall, between vs, and all other princes, be they neuer so remote from vs, as some of our confederates are in a manner as farr distant from vs, as he and his kingdomes are, and therefore you shall praye our good brother the K. to conceiue well of our meaning therein.

Touching the traffique of our subiects to all and euery the hauen and hauens of Duina, and euery part of the north side thereof, which his said minister in like sort thought much to be appropriate only to the company of our merchants trading those his dominions, and required that it might be sett at libertie for all nations that would trade theter, in liker sort, as it is lawfull for all nations to trafficque freely into all and euery our dominions and countryes nothing therein but that he hath allready graunted to the said company, in respect of the great charges ther haue bene at in finding

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out that trade, we trust he will take our said request in good part, and so consider of our subjects in that behalfe, as that their liberties may not be abbrigded, but rather receiue such ratification as the good intelligence between vs requireth, and we doubt not but our said subiects will deserue in orderly, and merchant like carrying themselues towards him, and his subiects, as from time to time we haue giuen them charge. And whereas our said subiects haue lately complained to vs of certeine greeuances, and chiefly of some new exactions laid vppon them, these three yeares last past, namely the first yeare 1,000 roubles, and the last yeare 500 roubles yearly, contrary to all priuiledge in that behalf prouided, and we therein moued his minister here to be a meanes to him that the said new exaction might be remoued; you shall in our name pray our good brother K. that in that behalf our subiects may be reliued, and according to his former fauors bestowed vppon them, vsed as the subiects of so friendly a confederate, as we are, and meane to be vnto him.

Hauing in this sort deliuered our meaning vnto him vppon the treaty of amity, you shall declare vnto him, touching the secrette message and request he made vnto vs, by this said minister for and concerning the matter of marriage how the lady motioned is fallen into such an indisposition of health as that there is small hope she euer will recouer such strength as is requisite for the state, especially considering the long and tedious voyage, she were to make, in case should vppon report of his amb-r and view of her picture, haue any disposition to proceede therein, and therefore our pleasure is you vse all the best perswasions you can to disswade him from that purpose, laying before him the weaknes of the lady, when she is in best state of health, and difficulties, that are otherwise like to be stood vppon by the lady, and her frends, who can hardly be induced to be so farr separate the one from the other, wherby the greatest comfort of them that are neere of blood are cutt of, that vnlesse their good wills and consent might be procured (which is a matter very doubtfull) the match could not in any sort be brought to passe, considering that in those cases, as ouer the rest of our subiects, so especially ouer the noble houses, and families, we haue no further authority then by waye of perswasions to induce them to like of such matches as are tendred them, and by good apparante reasons maie tend to their aduancement.

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And for the other motion deliuered vs in like secrett manner (by the interpreter, as heretofore it hath bene by some of our owne ministers sent vnto him) vppon occasion, as those times offred, touching hisselferepaire hether in our dominions, you shall declare vnto him, that as occasion shalbe ministred to him, and he so shall thinke good, he shalbe as welcome to vs, as any prince confererate whatsoeuer, and receiue at our hands the best offices, our small meanes can yeeld him, so deare he is vnto vs, and so willing we are to gratefy him in any thing, that maie lye in vs.

Further our pleasure is that at some fitt and conuenient time you sound the said King our good brother, in what disposition he standeth towards the K. of Sweden, and whether he could not be content that by way of mediation of some prince affected to them both, there might be some peace or truce concluded between them, whereunto in case you should find him inclined, then shall you vse towards him such reasons as may best serue to induce him to assent either to the one, or to the other, offring in our behalfe anie mediation, we can any way performe therein. And to the end this our intent may be accompanied with effects, we thinke it meete you should let him vnderstand, that we haue giuen you charge (if he shall so allow thereof) to lett the K. of Sweden vnderstand so much of his disposition, and to perswade him to send some ambassador into Russia, during your abode there, to the end you maye doe some good offices in remouing such difficulties, as maye arise in the said treaty. In which time our pleasure is, you haue regard to the time you are to make your abode there, that any such treaty may not drawe you to stay longer in those partes, thun that you may returne with the next yeare's shipping. In which meane time our meaning is you shall doe all the best offices you maye for the aduancement of the cause aforesaid; otherwise to forbeare to deale in any other sort in that matter, then that your returne may be at the liberty before mentioned, to the end our merchants be not ouerburdened with charge.

As for other causes of our merchants, which is the cause of our sending you into those parts, you shall particularly deale for them with the said K., in as good sorte, as you can accordinge to suche remembrances as they shall from time to time deliuer you.

Lastly our pleasure is you shall earnestly recomend to our good brother the K. the sending home of John Fensham one of his

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apothecaryes, whose father being a man very aged, desireth greatly to see him before he dieth, and to leave him possession of such lands and goods as he hath gotten for him.

AN ADDITION VNTO HIR MAIESTY INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN VNTO SIR JEROME BOWES HIR HIGH-S AMB-R VNTO THE EMPEROR OF MOSCOUIA.*

Hir ma-tye being very carfull that some good accorde by hir mediation might grow betwene the sayd emperor and the King of Swethia and being giuen to vnderstand that the sayd King hauing had some aduantage in these late warres happened between him, and the said emperor, is drawen by the victories, that he hath gotten, vppon some meere termes of reputation, then otherwise he would; whereby it is to be doubted, that he would be loth to send any ambassador to the Emperor of Moscouia (vnto his towne of Mosco) according vnto such direction, as is conteined in the instructions, signed by her ma-tie as a thing that he may conceiue that in the opinion of the world the same would be interpreted as though he sought the peace, which might breed in the emperor a disposition to stand vppon harder terms. Her ma-tie therefore hath thought meet, that you shall perswade the emperor, in case you shall find him inclinable to give eare vnto her ma-tie's motion for mediation of peace, to allowe that there may be some such place chosen vppon the confines of their dominions, subiect to some other prince, that standeth indifferent as a person neutral, where without touch of either of their honour the treaty may proceede a great deale more aptly, then if it should be dealt in either of their kingdomes or dominions.

That in case the emperor shall assent vnto this motion, as a thing grounded vppon due respects had of either of the prince's honors, then is it thought meete that you shall aduertise the King of Swetia thereof. And as for such difficulties as may fall out and hang vndetermined for lacke of the mediation of some person neutrall you may offer on her ma-tie's behalf, vnto the said emperor that she would be glad in case he can be content to make her an arbitrator to interpose her mediation in qualefying the said difficulties, in case he maye be induced on his parte to referre

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero, B viij. 31.

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them ouer into her. In the meane time vntill the said difficulties may be by her ma-tie considered of, and her iudgement gett downe for qualification of the same, as maye agree with iustice and due regard of either of ther honors, whereof if you find he shall haue any liking, then is it her ma-tie's pleasure, that you shall aduertise the said K. thereof, and to learne from him whether he can yeeld thereunto. And so both their assents being giuen vnto the said motion, you maye perswade the said princes the one by speech, the other by letters to be content to yeeld to an abstinence of armes for so long time, as it is likely (the difficulties of the passage duely considered) that she may returne her opinion in that behalfe.

And in case you shall be pressed to resorte to the said place where the treaty shalbe dealt in with the mutuall assent of both princes you shall in that case for your excuse declare vnto the emperor, that for as much as you haue receiued no direction so to do; you can not without offence of her ma-tie add your owne particular assent thereunto. On the other side if the emperour not yeelds to haue a treaty in some neutrall place, but shall insist to haue the same dealt in within his owne dominions, then shall you aduertise the K. of Swetia of your proceeding with the said emperor both in the one degree, and in the other, letting him vnderstand, how carefull her ma-tie was for the regard that she had to his honor to haue procured, that the said treaty might haue passed in a neutrall place. And yet notwithstanding that her highnes is of that opinion that princes for the auoyding of the efusion of Christian blood, and other inconueniencies that depend vppon the continuance of warres, the K. should not in so important a cause insist vppon ceremonies of place and time, and such like circumstances but rather haue regard to the matter, weighing withall that in respect of the great riches that the emperor of Muscouia hath, and the number of marshall men both horsemen and footemen, in which he is not inferior to any prince in these parts of the world, he ought to be moued in, to thinke that a deere disaduantagable peace is more worth then an aduantagable and victorious warre all things duely considered.

Sir Jerome was to insist on the insertion of a clause stating that one of the allies was not bound to go to war with the enemies of the other until every effort had been exhausted to reconcile the belligerents, and was to offer the intervention of

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the Queen between the Czar and the King of Sweden, without however taking upon himself the obligation of going to Sweden, nor delaying, on that account, his departure from Russia. As to the marriage with Mary Hastings, he was to decline it under pretence, first of her ill health, and then, if the Czar insisted, by saying that the lady's parents would not give their consent, and that the Queen had no power to oblige them to do so. In case of the Czar coming to England, he was promised by the Queen a welcome as affectionate as the most beloved ally could expect, and that everything should be done for him which the Queen's "small meanes can yeeld him." The principal aim of Bowes was to be the confirmation to the company of all its privileges, the exclusive right of trade in the White Sea, and exemption from all duties.*

Several documents have been preserved relating to the embassy of Bowes; his own memoir, with a short account of his stay in Russia, which is full of boasting; the complaints presented by him on his return to England about the offences he had endured, which show him to have been vain, quarrelsome, and fond of gossip; the accounts of his embassy in the memoirs of Horsey, which cannot but leave the conviction of his effrontery and vanity; and finally the documents of the ambassador's office, which unanswerably prove that in the course of the negotiations Bowes constantly prevaricated in his answers, contradicted his own words, and when he was detected appealed to the insufficiency of his instructions. He accused the Chancellor Schelkalof before the Czar of being bribed by the Dutch merchant de Wale; the officers of the Czar of not delivering to him the full provision of victuals allowed, and the person sent to accompany him from Colmogor (Kholmagora) of intending to sink his barge. When not consenting to the change of religion for Mary Hastings he assured the Czar that Elizabeth could offer for his choice a dozen other ladies more nearly related to herself and of greater beauty than Mary Hastings, and the next day at the ambas-

* Hakluyt's Navigations, p. 513.

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sador's office affirmed that he had given no such assurance. When convicted of the falsehood of this statement he replied that he had no instruction to name these ladies; but if Elizabeth would permit it, he would send their portraits to the Czar. On the very day of his reception by the Czar he went on foot to the Kremlin, because in his opinion the horse brought for his use was not so good as that mounted by the lord sent to accompany him. At his first audience, when the Chancellor Schelkalof, according to custom, advanced to receive Elizabeth's letter from him, he began, in the presence of the Czar, surrounded by his Court, to argue that the Queen had addressed no letters to Schelkalof. In his personal interviews with the Czar he caused John to lose patience: to the Czar's remark that he, Bowes, was unacquainted with the customs of ambassadors, he answered that he knew them very well, and had learned them in France. When the Czar mentioned the Roman Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, he replied that they were not fit to be compared to his Sovereign.*

To show the style and way of thinking of Sir Jerome Bowes, we reproduce the following curious instrument intitulated :—

COMPLAINTS OF SIR JEROME BOWES.

Ffirst yt is to be vnderstood that the emperor's ambassador beinge sent hither vndesired of her ma-tie was honorably brought hither bothe by see and land all at her ma-tie's chargis and was here entertayned and used bothe by her ma-tie and all others most honorably.

I beinge sent thither ambassador from her ma-tie by his owne intreatie, was after my arryvalle, fyve weeks in his land before he would take anye knowledge of mee; myselfe and all my companie liveinge all this while at her ma-tie's chargis.

At fyve weeks end ther came a gentylman to me frome the emperor, who beinge a follower of the chauncellor Shalkan and by hym (I may well gesse foysted into that servyce of purpose) vsed hym selfe verie proudly, and mee verie badly, amongst other, his ill and prowd speaches he towld me that I was no Christian.

* See Document, State Paper Office, London.

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This man beinge my guyde a thowsand myles vp the ryvers and feede me all that while, with verie bad vyctualls, nor in theis manye myles would suffer, that my bote at anye tyme should go before anye of his. But rather then yt should . . . . as at one tyme havinge a good gale yt was lykelye to hav don, he forced my guydes to runne mee on the sands to the hazard of all owre lyves.

Two myles short of Mosco, ther mett me fyve gentelmen of the emperor, who having somwhat to say to mee frome the emperor, would nedes that I should haue lightid on foote to haue hard yt, and would yet them selves have sytt on horsebacke.

The same night, the emperor sent mee a supper by a meane gentleman of his who deliveringe his messadge with his capp on his hedd, did challenge me, and stoode longe vpon prowde terms with me because I would not be bare.

At my first comynge to the presens of the emperor, after offeringe me to kysse his hands, he caused mee to bee put backe, abowt ten yeards, before he would here mee speake, and ther made me delyver my messadge openlye, as yf I had beene to have made a proclemation, and then demandinge my lettars, and I goinge towards hym to delyver theme, his chaunceller Shalkan came to have taken theme from mee esteminge me as yt semid (thowghe hir ma-tie's ambassador) vnworthy to delyver them my selfe nether did the emperor vowchsafe to towche her ma-tie's present, but caused the same Shalkan to take yt of me at the place wher I stoode.

The same day beinge to dyne at a syde bord in the presens of the emperor, when I was (to) sytt downe and goinge by the vpper end of (the) table to the place wher I was to sytt, I was challengid for yt from the emperor, and caused to go abowte to my place by the lower end of the borde: he would also (had I not vttarlye refused yt, and my dynner too of that pryce) haue forced that all my servants should haue dynid at the same table with mee; and that refusid, did neverthelesse cause the table to be furnyshid with a companie of meane gentilmen of his owne.

After I had bene dyvers tymes before the emperor, and had often had conference with his cowncell and that he fownd I had not comyssion to yeld to every demande that he thowght reasonable, he one day mongst other vsed theis speaches. "I doo not esteme (quoted he) the Queene your mystris for my fellowe: ther bee that are her bettars, yea hir worstars" wheruntto answeringe as I

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thought ffytt (wheche no way was vnreasonable) he towld me in furye, he would throwe me owt of the doores, and bade me gett me home.

Shalkan supposinge that I did not put in vse the full auctoretie of my comyssion, sayd that I deserved to be whipt, and Mekita Romana and hee, beinge of the Dutche faction, and so enymies bothe to her ma-tie's ambassadge, and all their mastar's good purposes towards owre nation; did delyver to my truchman, theis dysgracefull speaches of mee; the one sayd: I gatheryd the greace and fees of my kytchyn to carrye into England. The other that I would make myselfe rytche with skyns of the sheepe that the emperor allowid me.

The late emperor was resolvid to have made her ma-tie some perte of amends for theis indignities vsed agaynst her, but died before he had performyd awght so as the dishonors doe still remayne and have bene syns then, muche increasid by this Mekita and Ssalkan, who onelye governid aftar hym: ffor presently vpon the emperor's deathe I was shutt vp (thowghe in my owne howse), a close presoner for eight or nyne weekes, with this extreeme vsadge, that yf enye of my people that lay vpon the street syde, did happen at enye tyme to looke owt at enye wyndowe, they were by and by (by the watchmen who were ther sett to gard me) beaten in, with clotts end suche things as lay in the streets.

I had then taken frome me suche lyberale allowance of diet as the late emperor had allowed me and was nowe to content myselfe with suche slendar and badd fare, as by this Mekita and Shalkan was appoyntid me, and beinge in this meane tyme of my impresonnment dangerously sicke, they denyed me nor would suffer, that anye pheission should come at me.

I all this while suyd for my dispatche, whiche I should have had before the emperor's deathe. But could nowe by no means obtayne yt, such was the pleasure of Mekita and Shalkan, and when they had held me presonar as longe as pleasid them, they then sent me word overnight to come to court the next day to have my dispatche: whither beinge come, wheras ever tofore I was met wythe at cowncell, with manye of the greatist and gravest cowncellors; I was nowe entertaynyd onelye by Shalkan, a brother of his and one other gentilman whom I had never seene afore who delyvered unto me for a resolution frome the nowe emperor, that he had no meaninge to procede fardther in those treaties that his late

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father had before delt in, nor then would gyve me enye further hearinge.

Ere longe after I was hastyd awaye to take my leave of the emperor. But ordar gyven withall that my repire and dagger should be taken from me, and all my men dysweopenid which lyke dysgrace was never offerid me before. This myslykinge me muche, as well in respect I dowtid the mallyce of theis men, as also that I thowght yt uncomly beinge in verie short garments, to come before a prynce and state without a sword, rather lyke a presonar than lyke an ambassador I made some stay wher I was, and seemyd (syns I sawe they ment to vse me with suche dysgrace, and that they had alreadie delyvered me the resolution of the emperor, which was, not to grante anye part of that I came fore) to be willinge rather to retorne to my lodginge, then with theis dysgraces to see the emperor; and in this meanewhile, I sent for a longar garment meetar to be worne without a sword: but they fyndinge my purpose, a brother of Sholkans came vnto me, with sterne contenance and bad behaviour, to hasten the takinge away of my weapons, and my cominge to the emperor. Thus fyndinge no remedye, and dowtinge some outradge to be purposed vnto mee, leaving my weepons, I went to the emperor, as well with purpose to complayne of the iniuries don me as also to receave what he would fardar say to me towchinge my ambassadge, and by the way I mett with my man, with the garment that I sent for whome they perceavinge, either he could come to delyver yt me, heapes of them with furye ran vpon hym, and trust hym quyte owt of my sight myselfe beinge still hastid to the emperor with offer of to muche occation, to haue bred me myscheefe, yf I would haue taken howld of yt.

In this meene space, theis men, Mekita and Shalkan, thinkinge of the iniuries they had offerid me: and suspectinge my purpose to complayne had ere I could come to the emperor, commandid away my truchman, and so made suer worke, that I should say nothinge of that I would.

When I was come before the emperor he tould me a verie short tale, not muche to other purpose, but that he desirid suche leage of frendship with hir ma-tie, as his father tofore had had and for the time of my dyspatche offerid me a lettar to delyver to hir ma-tie wherin I well knewe, was no mattar of importance or grant of owght I came for; and therefore refusid yt; but they ernestly pressinge me

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to take dowtinge their vsadge yf I still refuse yt, agreed to receuve yt, vntill I might fynd some meeter tyme to rydd myselfe of yt.

The day followinge doctor Jacob had occation to speake wythe Shalkan; who tellinge hym in howe ill part I tooke the entertaynment I had the day before: he answerid hym thus: "Lett hym thank God: God was his gud God; for, had he not comme to the emperor, even when he did, he had bene torne in peeces and throwne over the walls."

It was a fortnight after this er that I could by anie intreatie wynne them to gyve me means to go homwards, and when, at lengthe, they sent me post horsse, they sent with them, nether brydells nor would provyde me anye; so as, had I not, at my owne charge, suddenlye made provysion for all my companye, my servants had bene forcid to have rydden post vpon the bare horse backs.

The morninge before my cominge away to doo me yet more dysgrace, by means of theis men, ther was retornid, vnto mee (browght by verie meane fellowes) suche things as I had before gyven to the late emperor, and ther withall, was presentid vnto me in the emperor's name, three tymber of sables, no question the verie worst that were to be fownd in all Mosco for in every man's opynion they all were not ther worthe above fortie pownds. It was also determynid over night by theis kynd men that the gyft I presentid frome hir ma-tie, should have beene sent backe.

He. Bowes.

Ther war also besyds theis, manye iniuries don me in my retorne to St. Nycholas. But supposinge theis alreadie sett downe to be manye I forbere to speake of them.

And the terrible Czar John Vassilievich not only bore with this insolence, but held it up as an example of zealous loyalty, and even condescended to apologize to Bowes for giving way to impatience. Having once called Bowes a "boor," he sent him the same evening his favourite Belsky with excuses, grievously beat Schelkalof with his own imperial hands, and ordered the officers complained of by Bowes to be thrown into prison. Another time, in a fury of passion, he drove Bowes from the palace, and directly afterwards sent to assure him that the negotiations need not be interrupted, increased the ambassador's allowance of victuals, acceded to all his requests,

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confirmed and enlarged, at his intercession, the privileges of the English merchants, and loudly proclaimed before his courtiers that if Elizabeth did not send him a bride he would himself go to England to seek one.

It is easy to comprehend how much hatred was felt by the Russians towards the detested match-maker, who arrogantly boasts in his memoirs that at that time whosoever wished to obtain the Czar's favour sought for notice from him, Bowes.

The delusion of Bowes was not of long duration; on the 18th of March, 1584, the Czar John Vassilievich was sitting half dressed after his bath, "sollacing himself and making merie with pleasant songs as he used to doe," and calling for his chessboard, had first placed the men, and was setting up the king, when he fell back on his bed in a swoon, which put an end to his reign. That night the government of the Empire passed into the hands of the five lords named by him as guardians to his weak-minded son, and in the morning messengers were flying to every part of the Muscovite realm with the news of the accession of the Czar Theodore Ivanovich. The chief power was, in fact, assumed by his uncle, Nikita Romanovitch Yoorieff, the principal accomplisher of whose will was the man who had long been ill-disposed to the English, and was the inveterate personal enemy of Bowes, the chancellor, Andrew Schelkalof. "Thy English King (the Czar) is dead," he sent word to Bowes, and ordered the house to be surrounded, Bowes and his attendants to be kept under strict guard, and no one to be admitted to them on any pretext whatever, mud and stones being thrown at any one who put his head out of the house.

For more than two months Bowes was kept in this confinement, fearing every moment for his life; and his fear was not unfounded, for the animosity against him was so great that, if we may believe Horsey, the question was discussed by the supreme tribunal of the five members whether he should not be given over to execution, and his life was only saved by the representations of Horsey that Elizabeth would

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not leave his death unavenged. At the end of nine weeks Bowes was ordered to the Kremlin; in the ambassador's hall he was met by Schelkalof and his brother, who announced to him that the new Czar did not intend to continue the negotiations with England begun by the late sovereign; notwithstanding the resistance of Bowes, they took from him his sword, and, not even letting him throw on his upper garment, dragged him before the Czar, without allowing him to be accompanied by his interpreter. Paying no attention to his refusal, they forced upon him a letter for the Queen, then seizing him by the arms, they turned him out of the palace, ordering him to quit Moscow immediately.

"Let him thank God: God was his gud God," Schelkalof sent word to him next day, "for had he not comme to the emperor, even when he did, he had bene torne in pieces and thrown over the wales."

A wiser man than Bowes might have lost patience under such indignities; he foamed with furious, powerless spite, and at the same time fearing for his own safety he ordered all the English merchants to leave Moscow and accompany him to the sea-coast, but naturally was not obeyed. Horsey, however, accompanied him as far as the first halting-place, and privately gave him a present of forty sables from Boris Feodorovich Godoonof, with the request that he would assure the Queen of his (Godoonof's) devotion and persuasion that affairs would be satisfactorily arranged at last.

After a long journey, and more insults (real or supposed) from the gentleman sent to accompany him, Nicephorus Sooschoff (whom he calls a mean sinaboiarsky, *i.e.*, an inferior officer), on the 12th of August 1584, Bowes at length reached the port of St. Nicholas; he no sooner stood on the deck of an English vessel than he sent back the Czar's letter "wherin was no matter of any importance," and the Czar's gift, three timbers of sables, "not worthe above fortie pounds, no question the verie worst that were to be found in all Mosco;" at the same time he wrote a letter in which he pours out all his

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wrath against the boyar Yoorieff and the chancellor Schelkalof, expressing his hope that Theodore, whom he had heard was now crowned emperor, would "soon cut the heads from the shoalders of those two usurping emperors."

"Wolde he had never come here! The Lorde sende us all his grace, writes the "London company's English agent at Kholmogora, when sending by the same vessel which carried Bowes, a hurried copy of the latter's angry epistle.

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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF IDEALISM AND REALISM.

By Gustavus George Zerffi, Esq., Ph.D., F.R.S.L.,
Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

III.—THE MIDDLE AGES.

The principal component elements in the progressive struggle of the historical development of Idealism and Realism were, "Hellenism" on the one side, and a misunderstood "Christianity" on the other. Hellenism, in spite of its Platonic idealism, still represented the embodiment of the forces of nature, while Christianity strove for the spiritualization and "disembodiment" of all phenomena, and of man himself. This tendency, which took its origin in the ascetics of India and the mystic priests of Egypt, produced that grand and mighty phenomenon of monasticism, the aim of which was to retire from the world, and to attain a state of conscious blissfulness in this life. Monks were said to be able to dispense with food, to float in the air, to have intercourse with angels and sometimes also with demons, to see with bodily eyes the glories of the saints, to pierce the future, and to lead an incorporeal life in spite of their living bodies. An Egypto-Buddhistic Platonism began to sway the minds of Christian believers, and they thronged in tens of thousands to people deserts and woods, mountains and sea-shores, with anchorets, pillar saints, cœnobites, and hermits. Humanity was apparently altogether absorbed in a spiritualized stoicism, applying Epicurus's principles to an ascetic life, finding joy, contentment

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and happiness in self-torment, renunciation, and bodily annihilation. This phenomenon was but a natural reaction against Hellenism and paganism, which were assumed to be the sinful glorification of the most abject and corrupt element in man, namely, *matter*. Yet the student of history can nowhere find clearer proofs for the theory of the continuously acting and reacting static and dynamic forces in humanity, than during this period. This world was to be given up, that men might taste in anticipation the joys of the next. Every natural sentiment was to be counteracted, every human feeling to be stifled. *God*, *soul*, and *eternity* were to be the only topics to be thought of, discussed, and grasped. The finite mind lost itself exclusively in the infinite. Plato with his Egyptian mysticism, and even Aristotle, had to lend their philosophical weapons to carry on this war, which produced the most conflicting and contradictory results. The overstrained static or *moral* element engendered idleness, bare formalism, gross sensuality, greed, uncharitableness, and a total extinction of all the higher and better humane feelings in monks and nuns. The neglected and counteracted dynamic or *intellectual* force broke out into glorious activity in those very caves, cells, holes, and dungeons that were created to destroy man's reasoning faculty, and to turn him into a mere groaning, sighing, praying, or chanting machine. On one side the hollow sounds of the scourge, on the other the monotonous strains of endless litanies: here emaciated bodies, eyes blinded by prejudices; there distorted, unripe notions, and philosophy herself degraded to defend, excuse, justify, and prop up a system of so called idealism, that proved to be the greatest mockery of the very faculties with which the Creator had endowed us. This was the state of the thinking world, when suddenly, Plotinus revived the Alexandrian philosophy, which was an affirmative negation of *Stoicism* and *Epicureanism*. "Neither *thought* nor *emotion* is capable of grasping truth, which in its essence can never be known," was the fundamental assumption of the New Academy through Plotinus. The universal oneness of

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spirit, as the thinking and feeling element, was to be the affirmative source of all knowledge, and this thesis led to a revival of Plato and Aristotle. Plotinus, in resuscitating the two antagonistic systems, proclaimed them to be identical, and could find no antagonism in them, but only homogeneity. He asserted that all philosophy is "the endeavour of our intellect to spiritualize our nature, and to enjoy this pure spiritualization in ideal intuition." This led him to believe that he had direct communication with God and His angels. Plotinus was often mystic and incomprehensible, because he indiscriminately mingled Platonic *deductive* assumptions with Aristotelian *inductive* assertions, which, however, in many instances were nothing but *à priori* postulates in the garb of *à posteriori* propositions. The *true*, the *good*, and the *beautiful* as the absolute *ideal* trinity, is opposed by *matter* ὕλη, the form and spiritless stuff, the "evil." "The idea is the only real unity; it has neither size, nor quantity, nor any other property; it is the only source of all recognition, the centre-point of the universe around which everything moves, the moving principle itself." Idea is with Plotinus "self-motion:" if this were not the case, nothing could exist, nothing could assume form and shape, for the idea is the eternal creative power, it is the νους that forms the essence of all created things, of which the λόγος becomes the special element, in opposition to matter, which lends to the different phenomena the merely apparent form of existence. Matter as delusion must be subordinate to the absolute reality of the idea.

We recognise in these postulates the influence of the primitive ten categories or predicaments, and the five predicables of Aristotle, which, in spite of their ingenuity, were mere assumptions, leading undoubtedly in time to a deeper understanding of the conflicting forces working in the material as well as intellectual world. To talk of *substance* and to know its essence of *quantity*, and to expound its properties in figures or measurements; to discuss *quality*, and to enumerate its component elements; to find out the

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acting and reacting *relations* of the phenomena; to trace *action* or *passion;* to see that everything must necessarily happen in *time* and *space*, through which two categories at last *position* and *habit* must necessarily be determined, were considered for more than a thousand years the set categories beyond which philosophy could not venture to strive. Let us add to these the arbitrary discussions on the "genus," "species," "difference," "property," and "accident" of all phenomena, and we may understand clearly the ground on which mediæval philosophy carried on its dialectical battles, striving to prove that the incomprehensible, mystic, and supernatural were the only intelligible, clear, and natural topics of philosophy.

Gnostic dreams, neo-Platonic vagaries, and fanatic superstition were intermixed with Aristotelian logical formulæ and categories, and everything received an exclusively theological colouring. The "genus" and "species" of God, angels, and demons; of the soul, sins, stones, plants, animals, stars, and virtues were defined with admirable precision.

Down to the ninth century there was, however, no system, when suddenly Scotus Erigena (died 886) appeared as an isolated shining meteor on the horizon of the conflicting religio-philosophical world. Hitherto no one had ever ventured to trace the sensible realities represented by words, but words themselves were considered to constitute realities. Thus Fredegisus, a pupil of Alcuin, proved most learnedly *that nothing was something*, for the word nothing could not exist if it did not mean something, as every word is but the representative or embodiment of some reality. This mighty fallacy ruled supreme and made of merely senseless verbiage and allegorical or metaphorical phrases, positive entities, that were treated as only divisible and tangible matter should be treated.

Worse than the rudest materialism is undoubtedly a subtle and refined idealism, if based on mere hypothetical assumptions, and not on a study of effects of which life or mind is the cause. The greatest amount of mischief produced in the pro-

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gressive development of humanity may always be traced to a confusion of cause and effect, and to an assumption of arbitrary hypotheses, which utterly fail to produce any scientific results. Obscurity and ambiguity, or sometimes even utter ignorance in the use of words and scientific terms, have caused so terrible a confusion that we apply the term *dark* to the Middle Ages, in perfect accordance with the state of the intellectual power of those times.

There was throughout a hidden, mysterious, and incomprehensible influence which checked all progress on the field of speculation and experiment. This terrible counteracting force is principally to be found in an inordinate love of the mystic, fostered by the esoteric and exoteric teachings of so-called Jewish philosophers—the *Talmudists* and *Cabalists*. We may, however, superficially dive into these partly intelligible, but in the main, utterly unintelligible writings, and we shall see how the allegorical is continually intermingled with the parabolical, and the metaphorical obscured by the anagogical. In these stupendous writings are set forth philosophical and ethical commonplaces, borrowed from Persians, Egyptians, and Greeks. The oracular, apparently mathematical dogmas of Pythagoras, and the half-inspired *dicta* of Plato are freely used. By this means a love for the miraculous was fostered, and truth discarded where it ought to have been sought for. A craving for the miraculous produced faith, a faith mingled with the greatest superstition; and such a faith is diametrically opposed to science.

Real knowledge under the influence of polytheism had been impossible, and it became still more difficult under the despotic rule of an assumed *Monotheos*, whose ways and means had been settled according to unintelligible dialectics. Scotus Erigena felt all this, and he was the first to dare to look nature in the face. He was the first to leave the dreary field of metaphysical speculations, and to write a book *De divisione naturæ*, in which he spoke like a sphinx in his time, assuming that nature, which cannot be produced, must be the root of everything.

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Scotus Erigena divided nature into *four* groups:

1st. One that *creates* and is *not* created.

2nd. One that *is* created and *creates*.

3rd. One that *is* created but *does not* create.

4th. One that is *neither* created *nor* creates.

("Videtur mihi divisio naturæ, per quatuor differentias, quatuor species recipere, quarum prima est quæ creat et non creatur; secunda quæ creatur et creat; tertia quæ creatur nec creat; et quarta denique quæ neque creatur nec creat.")

The Abbé Gerbert says of Scotus Erigena, that "he effected the construction of a system which in grandeur, in gigantic character, rivalled the bold tentatives of the philosophy of India. He set out, like that philosophy, with the primary unity, that unity represented, according to him, by the word nature, which comprehends the universal whole. This starting-point taken, what could the office of philosophy be? Its object would be to explain how variety has proceeded from the radical unity." "Under all phenomena, all diversities, he acknowledges nothing real but God, because His intelligence embraces all things, and intelligence is all things." Yet even this powerful thinker, who was a thousand years in advance of his age, could not entirely divest himself of the influences of his times. He worked out all his assertions by a powerful intuitive process, aided by a contemplative imagination rather than by close arguments based on observation; but he cleared the arduous road of modern philosophy by asserting that everything proceeds from the unity, which by degrees led us to seek for first principles and elements in the material as well as the ideal world.

We may look upon Erigena as the real founder of the *Nominalists*, who, standing more by Aristotle continually tried to define matter and spirit; whilst their opponents the *Realists*, relying on Plato, asserted that words are the representatives of *real* entities. Both parties were swayed by a mighty theological bias, which, while it excluded a deeper *scientific* treatment of philosophy, sharpened the dialectics of the combatants to such a degree that the conflict between the

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static and dynamic forces working in humanity led step by step to the most astounding results. England was at this period one large monastic university, in which learning could breathe more freely, but in which the stifling influence of dialectics had also greater power.

St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1033—1109), may be considered the grand leader of the Realists. He was a philosophical saint, who devoted nearly the whole of his life to the discovery of the "origin of evil," as if evil were a chemical substance which might be bottled up in a phial, like oxygen or sulphuric acid. He used many high-sounding words, meaning anything, or more often nothing. But his assertions provoked the counter-assertions of Roscelinus, who following in the track of Scotus Erigena drew a distinction between *verbal* validities and *real* entities.

The spell was broken, for he inquired "whether general ideas designated at that time by the name of universals were merely abstractions of the mind represented by words, or whether they represented realities." The Nominalists had in this sentence a firm basis, on which they could not only attack the Realists, but on which they could build up the further progressive development of philosophy.

Nothing could be more unjust than to accuse the mighty, blindly struggling minds of that period of having merely wasted their time and lungs with the tongue-tournaments which they instituted in the different theatres of the universities at Salerno, Bologna, Florence, Cordova, Paris, Oxford, Montcassin, &c., in the presence of excited students, ladies and gentlemen, priests and citizens. The disputants both fought with dialectical Grecian swords, Roman clubs, and theological word-spears, they quoted and re-quoted, explained, finessed with phrases, thrust in the name of Aristotle, and parried with a sentence from Plato. This intellectual wrestling was not without importance; for humanity, aroused from its bigoted lethargy, began to take an interest in the old Greek masters, who were so often mentioned that at last the people became eager to know something of them. To treat scholasticism

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detached as a mere isolated bright or dark phenomenon of history would lead to no knowledge at all, or to a very incorrect appreciation of the real vitality of that noisy epoch to which are attached the names of Rabanus Maurus, William of Champeaux, Abelard, Peter Lombard, Peter Damien, Hildebert of Lavardin, John of Salisbury, Amaury de Chartres, David Dinant, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas. When Abelard dared to denounce "the great science of universals," through which they thought to know the *inner* essence of all things, to be the result of mere grammatical gambols strung together into meaningless phrases and periods, the learned Realists proclaimed the end of all things to be at hand. But the very questions which agitated the scholastics at that period were those which have divided the philosophers of all times, under all conditions, into two conflicting parties, which detached and isolated are as little capable of solving the problems of the outer phenomena as are the generalizers and specialists of our times if they work against one another, instead of working into one another's hands.

The prominent characteristic of this period is its marvellous one-sidedness. Men could see only one colour; it was either a hazy deductive explanation of universals as realities, our modern *Idealist mutato mutandis*, or a grim inductive assertion explanatory of the phenomena of nature, realities being sought for behind mere words *(nomina)*, our modern *Realist* again *mutato mutandis*. The human mind, in its intellectual development, is, however, so constituted that it is strengthened through controversy. The most terrible question that disturbed the dogmatic sleep of the Realists of that period was, "Do the Universals exist *before* the things themselves, *in* the things, and *after* the things have been dissolved, changed, transformed, or altogether annihilated? Have Universals an absolute, independent, *metaphysical* individuality, or have they a mere *physical* existence brought to entity by the individual, or have they a merely *logical* reality which they receive in our mind through outward impressions on our senses?" Driven by these terrible questions into a

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triangular corner, the dialectics of the Realists became very noisy, but more and more confused; the distinctions that were drawn assumed an inexhaustible subtlety, meaning, however, less and less; the Nominalists triumphed and proclaimed, "Beside man there is no *general man*, but each man is an individual particular man, participating only in something that is common to all men. There are no absolute and real abstract entities; such exist only in our mind." Thus the gates of real science were opened for the *inductive method*, which makes man the servant and interpreter of nature, and which "is in reality the systematic pursuance of the law of progress in organic development; it is the conscious intending of the mind to external realities, the submitting of understanding to things,—in other words, the increasing speciality of internal adjustment to external impressions" (Dr. Henry Maudsley). The greater vitality of the Nominalists was evident, though they could not altogether dispense with realism or logical formalism. Some began to treat metaphysics as though they had tangible matter before them; others discarded all metaphysics, and became exclusively dry experimentalists; and others again strove to become mere "conceptualists," not relying on words, but insisting on a union between notions and words;—the notions to be the results of received impressions.

John of Salisbury, at the beginning of the twelfth century, made himself conspicuous by opposing the studies of mere dialectics, and reproached the dialecticians with never arriving at any applicable practical conclusions. His works were pre-eminently historical, and contain a mine of information with regard to scholasticism. He insisted on a division of philosophy, comprising physics (natural philosophy), morals, and politics.

Amongst the scholastics, some formed an influential pantheistic school, which worked out certain of the generalizations of Scotus Erigena in detail. "Everything is God, and God is everything. Creator and creature are one and the same. Ideas are at once creative and created. God is the end of all

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things, in the sense that all things must return to Him in order to constitute with Him an immutable individuality." These were the leading ideas of Amaury de Chartres, whose disciple, David de Dinant, treated the idealistic conceptions of his master in a realistic or materialistic form, asserting "God to be universal matter," assuming for his basis Aristotle's *primary matter*, which, destitute of every quality, appeared to him as a common element for mind or spirit and body. In this he did not think with some of our modern coarse realists, who reduce everything to mere matter, ponderable or imponderable. Bonaventura (1221—1274) assumed a mediating position between the two extreme parties of the Nominalists. He started with light as the life-giver of everything, but let this light proceed from the Father. He then divides light into the following categories:—

(*a.*) The *external* light, being the essence of mechanical arts.

(*b.*) The *inferior* light, which produces sensitive knowledge.

(*c.*) The *internal* light, which produces philosophical knowledge.

(*d.*) The *superior* light, which comes from grace and Holy Scripture.

I scarcely need point out the amalgamation of Aristotle's principles with theological dialectics in Bonaventura, but he is also full of Plato; in fact, he was a thorough eclectic, for "he seeks in the mechanical arts, and in sensitive knowledge images of the generation of the 'Logos,' of the rule of life, and of the alliance of the soul with God."

But neither the Plato nor the Aristotle of the Greeks was the Plato or the Aristotle of the scholastics. Plato first, and then Aristotle, were only used in their outward dialectical garbs, the capacity of those times being powerless to grasp even the very method of these gigantic minds of antiquity. Albertus Magnus (Count of Bollstädt, 1193—1280), also called Teutonicus, again tried to revive the spirit of the immortal peripatetic philosopher. He brought Aristotle into

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a certain form, systematized, expounded, and commented upon him, but he made one great mistake in his enthusiastic worship. According to this philosophical sage of the Middle Ages, nothing was left to humanity but to study Aristotle; for Aristotle had exhausted all possible sciences, solved all cosmical, psychological, and logical problems. What could there be beyond an "anima vegetativa," "sensitiva," and "rationalis"? Everything in the universe was therefore either vegetative, sensitive, or rational. To reduce everything to assumed first or general principles, and having found the first principles, to define and prove them, was to be the only task of philosophy. In this the Nominalists differed from the Realists, for the latter assumed the principles as proved *à priori*. The searching after first principles led by degrees to a number of scarcely answerable questions, such as, "What is the origin of *individuality*, the *unity*, the *substance*, the *plurality* of *attributes*? what is the soul, and what are its *faculties*? what are *simple* or *compound qualities*? what are beings?" The answers given to these questions were as confused and ingenious as they often are in our own times when such "riddles" are asked and answered in the scholastic dialectics of the Middle Ages, because some people, having neglected the historical process that has gone on around us, have remained merely intellectual survivals of these bygone times, and cannot follow a mode of thinking in any way different from that of the scholastics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But all intellectual activity has one great advantage, that men consciously or unconsciously advance, driven onward by an irresistible dynamic force that ever varies and yet is ever the same, producing the most diversified and marvellous phenomena, like the creative force in nature, of which it is a mere concentration in man's mighty brain.

To see the working of this force unconsciously in an individual who commences as a saint, and driven by logical force ends a heretic, we have only to study carefully the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, the angelic doctor (1227—1274). St. Thomas began with the study of the fathers,

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passed from them to the Arabian philosophers, and their translations of Aristotle, took a leading position among the scholastics, and discussed with genial refinement the following topics :—*Being*, *existence*, *unity* and *plurality*, the *origin* of the *individual*, *action* and *passion*, *cause* and *effect*, &c.

In dealing with cause and effect he fell into a snare, for he assigned the cause of individualization to matter, and became a heretic ; for this assumption does away with all immaterial beings, such as angels or the souls of the deceased. He assumed a general *rational* life in man, which exerts its functions without any corporeal organ ; a *sensitive* life, which has need of a corporeal organ, but as sensations and consciousness can only arise from impressions on the senses, the sensitive life was an impossibility in beings *without* corporeal life ; and a *vegetative* life, which needs not only a corporeal organ but a corporeal force besides.

Out of the struggle between the Realists and Nominalists grew the conviction that mere discussions on *words*, *notions*, and *things*, as mere abstractions, led to no real knowledge. Logic was not yet a science, but a mere art ; beyond the artistic fencing with words, conveying sometimes notions and sometimes mere assumptions of notions, philosophy did not go, and this was unconsciously felt by the scholastics themselves. The book of nature was still closely sealed ; logical combinations of subjects and predicates were made at random ; *analysis* was practised, but *synthesis* was neglected, or, when applied, found its solution *deductively*. *Induction*, though attempted by Aristotle, was assumed to have been exhausted by him for ever. Humanity, in spite of endless dissertations, could not boast of a single trustworthy scientific solution in reference to the essence of the human *mind*, the *world*, *God*, *life*, or *matter*. Cause and effect were spoken of, yet no one at that period was able to assert the cause of any effect on the arduous path of experimental philosophy. The art of reasoning was treated one-sidedly, and the *science of reasoning* altogether ignored. The law of action and reaction found two repre-

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sentatives at this period—action (Nominalism) in Roger Bacon (1214—1294), and reaction (Realism) in John Duns Scotus (1275—1308). The first was the founder of a scientific method of inquiry and inference based on Experimentalism. The second, through his exaggerations, gave the death-blow to Scholasticism. His classifications surpassed in empty subdivisions and dialectical hair-splittings anything advanced before him. He tried to bring more precision into the investigation of problems which in reality were problems that could not be solved, and he exposed more than any of his predecessors the shallow hollowness of the Scholastics. He ventured into the discussion of free will, and was accused of Pelagianism, though he most sternly affirmed the hypothesis of grace. Poor Duns Scotus! he has become immortal; for if we intend to designate an idiot, we call him in our times a "dunce," in remembrance of the stupefying influence Duns Scotus exercised on the intellectual faculties of his disciples, who, in exaggerating their master's exaggerations, became the most effectual means of bringing discredit on all scholastic efforts. Yet poor Scotus was not altogether without wit. When invited to dinner by the King of France, his Majesty tried to test the intellectual capacity of his learned guest by asking him what there was between a Scot and a Sot; and the great dialectician answered, with incredible rapidity, "*The table.*" He served the advancement of science *negatively*, not *positively;* he exposed a vicious method, and such workers in science are as necessary as the labourers that dig the foundations of a house to make room for the sound stone foundation, according to the plan of the architect. Duns Scotus served to clear away the dialectical rubbish which had inspired humanity to attempt to comprehend the incomprehensible, and to know the unknowable. The endeavour to know that which can never be known is still made by our modern metaphysicians, who may rest assured that they cannot fail to share the fate of honest Duns Scotus, for there are many "William Occams" in the field.

William Occam (1343—?), called the singular or invin-

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cible doctor, knocked with violent passion at the gates of progress, and demanded a total reform of philosophy, just as we insist on a total reform of education. In spite of the sanguinary persecutions of his times, Occam exhibited an independence of mind and a deep wisdom in his appreciation of what ought to be the real course of science, which place him in the foremost ranks of those who insist on concrete realities and ignore abstract vagaries. "He rejects the abstractions of Duns Scotus, and searches for truth in sense; he explains the void, defines expansion, and fixes with precision the value of universals; he subordinates abstractions and reflections to sensible perceptions, and observes that sensations are modified by the objects, the organs, and by our own activity" (Degerando).

Dr. F. A. Lange characterizes Occam as the mighty forerunner of Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke. He became great through self-thought, and not through a vain repetition of what had been said before him. He thoroughly understood the fundamental principle of Nominalism, representing in reality the sceptical opposition to blind authority, whether in matters of faith or science. He went even farther, and endeavoured to shake the whole hierarchical organization of the Church, with the same vigour that had hurled the hierarchy of vapid school dialectics into the dust. He demanded freedom of thought and judgment, and in religion, taking the practical side of the question, most strongly opposed mere verbalism in theology, especially when contrary to common sense and incapable of proof. His axiom "that science could only be based on a knowledge of the impressions on our senses," is the fundamental principle of the system of logic by John Stuart Mill. Occam, in waging a deadly war against Platonism, as contrary to man's understanding, did not altogether ignore the value of generalizations. "He, on the contrary, taught that science must be based on 'universals' (not directly on all single things), but not on universals *as such*, but only on universals as the expression of aggregate individuals" (Prantl).

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With great clearness William Occam defined the only possible foundation of a scientific treatment of any given subject. Historians have much to thank him for, as nothing is more embarrassing than the sifting of subjective opinions based on preconceived notions of facts, and often even of dates.

As in philosophy, so also in history, there will always be two elements that ought never to be antagonistic, but should harmoniously complete one another. These elements are represented by the collectors of special facts, from whom we require unbiassed objectivity—the *Realists* in philosophy (not in the sense of the Scholastics); and those who, by means of induction, draw generalizations from facts thus collected, in order to trace law and order in the apparently *incidental* course of events, corresponding to the *Idealists*, who, through a philosophical treatment, elevate the study of history to the rank of a real science.

Scholasticism, in spite of its barrenness, may, if not directly, indirectly boast of immense results. It helped to change alchemy into chemistry, astrology into astronomy, demonology into geology, zoolatry into zoology, necromancy into psychology, magic into medicine, cabalistic incomprehensibilities into cosmology, and, in short, *arguing* into *reasoning*. The direct results of these changes can be summed up in the invention of gunpowder, the expansion of learning, the manufacture of paper from rags, the cutting of glass to make microscopes and telescopes, the use of the magnetic needle, which changed the very configuration of our globe, and led to the discovery of America; and the art of printing, which was synchronistic with the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks, who sent the high priests of learning from Greece with their original sacred books to settle amongst us, and awaken the study of antiquity in sciences and arts. The social organization of Europe received an entirely different basis. The genius of beauty was first aroused in Italy. In England the rights of the people received an expanded constitutional basis. In Germany the imperial towns were endowed with exceptional privileges, securing industry, commerce, and

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learning. Authoritative theology was shaken to its very foundations, man began to crave for an absolute right to sift and discuss even dogmas imposed by the Church, and measured them by a universal standard of morality.

Dogmatism is the first result of man's awakening self-consciousness; the next evolution is scepticism, leading by degrees to science. Scepticism is a transition state in the progressive development of humanity. Man in his youth is dogmatic, in his manhood sceptic, and in his old age scientific. Scepticism, *as such*, is not enough to lead to knowledge; doubt must be the effect, of which an irresistible search for truth is the cause; else scepticism urges us only on to cultivate a kind of practical understanding, a kind of common sense (*sensus communis*, *bon sens*), which may often be the ally of the most bigoted dogmatism; for it is easier to foster generally acknowledged prejudices than to oppose them. By a combination of silent and inactive doubt, and a hypocritical acquiescence in accepted hypotheses, an obstructive "vis inertiæ" is created, which to set aside, strains the dynamic force of humanity to the utmost. This was the intellectual state of thinking Europe, which suddenly burst into an unprecedented sceptic activity.

All was dissolution and new formation. The classics were read in their original texts, for down to the times of Reuchlin and Erasmus of Rotterdam we possessed only garbled Latin translations from Arabian writers and commentators. The modern languages were cultivated, and this culture had the most important influence on the progressive development of philosophy. To transcribe ideas written in a dead language is not merely to galvanize a mummy, but to transfer a bygone life into a new body, whose vitality is thus doubled.

It was at this period that philosophers began to draw a sharp distinction between science and theology, though we have isolated instances of a similar attempt as early as the thirteenth century, when John de Brescain was (1247) taken to task by his bishop for not asserting his opinions in a "theological," but only in a "philosophical" sense. This

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immoral dialectical jugglery was fostered in a great degree by the clergy themselves, who, instead of trying to make the aroused spirit of inquiry harmonize with their teachings in general, played a double part, asserting one thing in the pulpit, and teaching another in the universities. Theology was thus severed from science, and such phrases were heard as, "If one wishes to know nothing, one has only to study theology;" or, "The real wise men of the world are the philosophers;" or, "The teachings of theology are based on fables." (See Maywald's "Zweifache Wahrheit," and Renan's "Averroés.") The Christian principle of reconciliation was thus disturbed, God was placed into an antagonism with the world, faith opposed to science, as though there could be two different kinds of truth, or as though science were opposed to real religiousness. The Middle Ages tried to develop the *negative* spirit of Christianity, fostering self-abnegation, and attempted to build up a system of submissive morality on dogmatic assumptions which, however, indirectly helped on the world to genuine culture.

A Medici (Leo X.) sat on the papal throne, selling "remissions of sins" by public auction, and with the receipts he bought pagan classics for his library, and encouraged Italian artists to paint heathen gods and charming heathen goddesses, with which the walls and ceilings of his pompous palaces were adorned. Art was thus encouraged to become beautiful. But beauty is truth, it is the revealed secret of the harmonious blending into one of idea and form. This led to a higher culture of science, which tries to reveal the hidden connection between impression and perception, or again, between form and spirit. The state, on the other hand, strove to free itself from the fetters of authority, and to carry out the grand and eternal doctrine "that we are all children of ONE Father in heaven." In this sense resounded the mighty protest on which Protestantism was based.

Only in such an intellectual atmosphere could the ideas of a Gassendi and Boyle, of a Leonardo da Vinci and Lewis Vives, have prospered. They left the obsolete traditions

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of the ancient world, and tried to establish a new and independent mode of thinking, based on experiments. Man was to be, again, a worthy subject, and humanity at large was to obtain her sacred rights of free thought through this mighty process of regeneration.

This process went on slowly and is still going on. How difficult it is, even for philosophers to divest themselves of learned prejudices, may be gathered from the fact that the independent Cremonini, whose views with reference to the soul would shock many in our times, and who taught philosophy at the University of Padua at the time when Galileo taught mathematics there, was so horrified when he heard that Galileo had discovered Jupiter's satellites, which he had not heard of before, that Cremonini refused ever to look through a telescope, lest he might observe phenomena that were not mentioned in Aristotle.

I need scarcely ask how many Cremonini survivals there are still in our times, who shut their eyes to truth, fearing that some of their inherited prejudices might be dispelled!

But discoveries, inventions, and experiments, once started, continued in spite of the flames of the Inquisition, the fires of which have been extinguished, while the burning search for truth still enlightens humanity.

Italy, Germany, France, and England vied with one another on the path of intellectual progress; nothing appeared beyond the reach of investigation. Peter Pomponatius wrote "On the Immortality of the Soul," and looked upon the "founders of religious systems" as physicians of the soul, whose duty it was to make men virtuous and not learned; and as the physician invents many a thing, as nurses amuse children with many a tale of which they cannot see the real cause, so the founder of a religion may with perfect right invent and amuse, whilst his aim must be looked upon as purely ethical. If we were to study the writers of these times with greater diligence, we should not be astonished to hear certain ideas expressed in our times which are but the revived echoes of a period, in which mankind sought to use

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the most glorious gift of the Creator—Reason. Copernicus adjusted the movements of the heavenly bodies and revived the old Egyptian heliocentric system for our earth, which had been already taught by Pythagoras. Giordano Bruno takes up Lucretius, and speaks of the "infinity of worlds," and under these influences we reach the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Reformation was victorious, and though the clash of arms, the din of war trumpets, the tramping of horses, and cannon and musket shots were still used as apostles of Christian charity and faith, Bacon (1561—1626) appeared, soon followed by Descartes, Gassendi, Leibnitz, and Hobbes, who must be looked upon as the direct founders of modern philosophy.

In all these mighty thinkers we can trace the conflict between Idealism and Realism; Descartes and Leibnitz devoted themselves to Idealism, whilst Bacon and Hobbes embraced Realism. To discuss the merits of Bacon and to measure him by the standard of modern philosophy, as some unhistorically trained minds have done, is out of the question. Bacon laid two powerful ghosts—Plato and Aristotle, and resuscitated Demokritos. Without sensations produced by outer impressions intellect cannot be active. The outer world steps into the foreground, and nature becomes everything. We live in nature, nature in a thousand different forms surrounds us, nature impresses us with her varying and varied phenomena; all our most delicate notions have taken and must take their origin in some outward impression of nature. Nature was Bacon's Alpha and Omega; the most refined abstractions were but the products of nature. "The practical sciences were to form mighty pyramids, with empiricism for their base, of which axioms would form the top." *Facts* were to be the anvil; *reason*, the hammer by means of which the different sciences were to be worked in the burning furnace of 'experimentalism.' But before we could do this it was necessary that we should become acquainted with the principal causes that retarded the progress of science and civilization. And as these causes are still more or less openly

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or secretly at work, I will lay them before you with some comments.

Idolatry is the bane of humanity!—idolatry in whatever shape or form, in whatever disguise, under whatever pretext. This idolatry was reduced by Bacon to four principal headings :—

I. *Idola tribûs*—the idols of the tribe.

Amongst these idols must be reckoned those which are common to all men,—love of mysticism, indolence of thinking, vivacity or sluggishness of temper, a blind reliance on hereditary customs, and an undue veneration for what is remote and antiquated. To dispel the mists of the past, to undo what has been done in times of ignorance and superstition, is the Herculean task of humanity at large; the *static* element prevailing in general, the dynamic force had the utmost difficulty in helping humanity onward on the path of progress.

II. *Idola specûs*—the idols of the cave.

We are all born, without having the slightest power of pre-determining the fact, in different social and family, national and religious caves, which latter are again divided into innumerable sectarian mole-holes. To free ourselves from oppressing influences, that make us see matters only from a particular point of view, is one of the most difficult tasks set to science. Combinations, corporations, family circles, fashions, customs, books we read, and even books we do not read, leave their outward impressions on our minds, and form so many component elements of our mode of thinking, viewing, and arguing, generally obstructing the very possibility of conceiving an unbiassed scientific thought. Dry dust and cobwebs fill these caves which are not easily removed, and which must be swept away in order to free our force of reasoning from all social, artistic, and scientific trammels.

III. *Idola fori*—the idols of the forum or market-place.

These are the prejudices which we imbibe, when, having crept out of our narrow family and sectarian caves, we

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devote ourselves to public life. We often become incarnate specialities, fossils with peculiar crystallizations formed by the calling which we have chosen, or which circumstances, over which we had no, or very little control, have forced upon us. The merchant thinks differently from the lawyer, the clergyman has other notions than the layman. The rich assumes airs which he will not tolerate in the poor. The commoner opposes the ideas, nay, the very mode of thinking of the noble. The soldier differs from the tradesman, the stockjobber from the betting man, the artist from the manufacturer. All social elements are in dire opposition, and yet all of them are swayed by one common interest. Who should find out the connecting links in this mighty chaos, if not the philosopher, whose task it is to free the specialities from their social and mental incrustations, and to show them one common nature—human nature. Philosophy presupposes a perfect freedom of thought, without which its progress is impossible.

IV. *Idola theatri*—the idols of the theatre, or rather of the lecture hall.

We have not alone to contest with tribal, sectarian, and social prejudices, but have also to battle against those very learned iconoclasts, who make it their duty to enlighten humanity, to knock down false images, but who altogether differ in their estimate of what an idol is, and who frequently, in destroying one set of idols, insist upon the worship of another. The idols of the theatre comprise the attitudinizing dealers in facts, concoctors of dates, garblers of documents, —in short, all those who place their subjective speculations above an unbiassed objective contemplation of law, working in material nature as well as in the domains of our intellectual development.

Bacon was undoubtedly a mighty genius, who changed the very mode of thinking in humanity. If Columbus be called a geographical Luther, and Luther a theological Columbus, Bacon may be looked upon as the philosophical Columbus, who discovered the only possible method of science based on

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a secure foundation of experiment. Bacon has often been misunderstood to rely exclusively on collections of facts, and facts were therefore declared the only things to be collected. Facts in nature, facts in history, facts in heaven and on earth, facts in chemistry, astronomy, and even theology. But what are facts? and what facts are to be considered as such? are questions of the highest importance. Bacon does not insist, one-sidedly, on our duty to observe and to collect, but in the true sense of the idealist, impresses on us the duty of comparing, drawing analogies, systematizing and even predicting. These latter, however, are pre-eminently speculative and reasoning functions of our mental faculty, which is the more philosophical, the more it is capable of grasping true generalizations from given details. Bacon taught humanity to discard all the philosophical systems that had been raised on mere *à priori* assumptions, and to fill the empty board anew with records collected on the fruitful fields of experience. He divides the philosophers that preceded him into two grand groups:—

(1) Such as, armed with scepticism, have destroyed all certainty in facts; and—

(2) Such as, asserting facts with too little critical spirit, and too great credulity, have hindered more than advanced real science.

Of the two classes the "fact-mongers" are undoubtedly the more dangerous. The sceptics can only work negatively; they pull down antiquated assumptions, and it rests with others to build up better theories on a firmer ground than mere hypotheses.

The coiners of facts collect stones that are often utterly rotten; register incidents that are of no use; label isolated assertions with dates that are either not verified or else arbitrarily chosen; string together long rows of occurrences which may or may not fit together, and thus force upon the world the duty not only of pulling down but of clearing the ground, in order to disentangle incongruities, and to disperse prejudices which are the more formidable the more they assume the authoritative garb of real genuine facts.

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The trouble which the unphilosophical collectors of so-called facts give us, especially in history, is immense. They force us to pull down and to reconstruct erroneously erected edifices with fact-materials which we have to sift, to verify, to correct, to eliminate, to alter, or altogether to reject.

Philosophical training ought to be an absolutely essential accomplishment in a collector of facts.

Facts are coins which make up the sum-total of history, like words in philosophy, which according to Bacon make up theories and systems. Words register outer impressions transformed into ideas; facts record occurrences; both words and facts may lead to the most terrible abuses, to the construction of utterly false theories and incorrect knowledge, if we are not capable of determining the value of their original currency. Words, if used without a proper knowledge of their meaning, are as valueless as facts unconnected with other facts, and isolated from the causes of which they may be the effects. In the concatenation of cause and effect we must trace how effects through combination become in their turn the new causes of new effects, showing everywhere the working of fundamental forces, according to an immutable law of causation.

It was thought that Bacon had only one aim in philosophy—to make discoveries; as if everything belonging to the culture, refinement, and education of the emotional element in us were to be neglected, as if the ideal were altogether useless, or no component part in man's nature.

Nature alone was to be looked into, nature was to be cooked, dissected, analyzed, and questioned—as if everything were a mere bodily entity, and as if there were no self-conscious intellect. This very intellect, however, which was denied consideration, was to be the instrument with which nature was to be looked into. But this assumption which was systematized in England, and under which a higher culture has been greatly neglected, was never meant to form the foundation of our mental or scientific development. Bacon's ladder of "ascent"—was to be followed by a ladder of "descent." We were to start with *facts*, but we were to come

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down to general principles; we were to use our intellectual faculty to turn practice into theory, and to make science the foundation of all our moral, artistic, and intellectual actions. The art of questioning nature was not to be confined to mere matter, but was to extend also to mind and intellect, sensations and impressions. Bacon's influence produced *Toricelli* (1608—1647), who weighs air; *Harvey* (1569—1658), who discovers the circulation of the blood; *Snell* (17th century), who discovers the refraction of light; *Hermbstädt* (1760), who systematizes experimental chemistry; *Huyghens* (1629—1659), who perfects the telescope; *Tschirnhausen* (1651—1708), who re-invents the burning mirror; *Athanasius Kircher* (1601—1680, one of the most learned Jesuits,) who constructs the first speaking-trumpet, which developed in our times into the telephone; *Muschenbroeck* (1692—1761), who gave us the pyrometer; *Fahrenheit*, the thermometer; *Ruisch*, who opened a new system of anatomy; *Hallsen* (1734), who constructs the first electric machine; *Cunæus* and *Muschenbroeck*, who make the Leyden jar; *Halley* (1656), who propounds his theory on comets; *Malpighy* (1628—1694), who establishes the anatomy of plants; *Kleist*, who improves electric batteries; *Lambert* (1728—1777) and *Chladne* (1756), who were the inventors of the celebrated vibrating and acoustic plates; *Giovanni Domenico Carlini* (1625—1712), who settles the movements of Mercury; whilst *Kerler* (1571—1631) *and Newton* (1624—1727) give laws to the very universe. So much for the workers in the realistic branches of philosophy. But Idealism was not neglected. For the immortal philosopher Descartes, the mighty Leibnitz, Gassendi, the acute Spinoza, the powerful sceptic Hume, the masterly and unsurpassed Locke in speculative philosophy, Shaftesbury, Francis, Hutcheson, Young, Warton, Blair, Beattie, Stewart, Ferguson, Thomas Reid, Home (Lord Kaimes), and Burke, in the realm of æsthetics, and the theory of the sensations of beauty; and Hooker and Chillingworth in theology, applied the principles of Bacon, and opened altogether new paths on the field of abstractions. The three great leaders of modern thought

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were Bacon in England, Descartes in France, and Leibnitz in Germany. They represent at the same time the national character of these three countries. Bacon, according to Degenerando, "studied nature, and referred everything to experience." A one-sided application of Bacon's philosophy has checked all ideal culture at large in England, and fostered a Puritanical spirit in arts and sciences. Descartes "shut himself up in the sanctuary of meditation," and drew his ideas out of his own thinking inner-self. He perverted the phrase, "sum, ergo cogito," "I am, and therefore I think," into "cogito, ergo sum," "I think, and therefore I am." (The fallacy of Descartes' sentence I hope to expose in another paper.) He led the French nation to an inordinate worship of themselves.

Leibnitz stood between the two, and endeavoured to combine the Realism of Bacon with the Idealism of Descartes. He aroused in the Germans that humanitarian spirit of universalism which showed itself especially in the culture of Comparative Philology, Physical Geography, Universal History, and Cosmogony.

Bacon worked through his maxims, Descartes through his genial form, and Leibnitz through the gigantic grasp of his genius. I may sum up the working of the three great philosophers thus:—Bacon endeavoured to base philosophy on the study of nature; Descartes taught that we should use nature to evolve ideas, and Leibnitz sought to grasp the connection at large between nature and ourselves. Bacon taught us to know better; Descartes to think better; and Leibnitz to reason better.

The ancients began philosophy with the axiom, "man, know thyself," which the scholastics changed into "man, have faith;" whilst modern philosophy begins in a true Christian spirit of universalism and reconciliation to say, "man, know thyself and outward nature, and have faith in the eternal laws that rule the *real* as well as the *ideal* world." The ancients had "earth," the Middle Ages "heaven and hell," continually before their eyes, whilst the modern philosophers embrace man, heaven, and earth in their scientific combination and universality.

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HISTORICAL PROGRESS OF FREE THOUGHT.

By JAMES HEYWOOD, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S.
Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

FREE THOUGHT may be defined as an independent act of the understanding: it corresponds with the French expression, *liberté d'esprit.* A power of concentrated attention is necessary in processes of reasoning, and forms the foundation of a free and accurate discriminating judgment. The late Dr. Carpenter, in his "Mental Philosophy," remarks that "in all the leading objects of intellectual occupation, the abstractive power is brought continually into exercise, and hence one advantage of the pursuits of literature, and still more of science." Copernicus was described by Kepler as a man *liber animo*, free in thought, and on account of his unbiassed mind he was regarded as well qualified to undertake the difficult task of preparing an approximately correct diagram of the solar system.

About A.D. 1500, Copernicus, in his diagram, gave to the sun the central place, and described the planets as revolving in their respective orbits around that luminary.

Nearly three quarters of a century afterwards Kepler established the main laws of planetary motion, namely :—

1. Every planet moves in an elliptical orbit, in one focus of which the sun is situated.

2. The line drawn from the sun to a planet sweeps over equal areas in equal times.

3. The squares of the periodic times of the planets vary as the cubes of their mean distances.

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In 1609 the telescope was invented by Jansen, a Dutchman, and Galileo constructed for himself an extremely simple telescope. For a short time astronomical researches were allowed to be freely pursued in Italy, but Galileo, in his old age was silenced by the cruel power of the Inquisition, and it has only been in the present century that a bronze statue to his honour has been erected in his native town of Pisa.

At Cambridge, Sir Isaac Newton carried on the investigations of free thought with respect to the mechanism of the heavens. His general law was announced, that "every particle of matter in the universe attracts every other particle with a force varying directly as the product of the masses, and inversely as the square of the distance."

Under this law, Mr. Proctor observes, in his able work on "Saturn and its System," "The satellites sweep round their primaries, these round the sun, the sun moves on his course within the star cluster to which he belongs, that cluster goes on amidst its companion nebulæ, and the whole system of nebulæ moves amongst other systems in immeasurable space."

Within very recent times the late Dr. Von Maer was distinguished for his discoveries in celestial dynamics. He demonstrated that the light and heat of suns and stars may be originated and maintained by the collisions of masses of matter rapidly moving through space.

Dr. James Croll, in a letter published in *Nature* 10th January, 1878, remarks that masses of matter moving in stellar space with enormous velocities can have neither light nor heat, and must of course be invisible to us. By their impact they lose their motion, and their energy calculated to produce motion, and which had previously the form of motion, is transformed into light and heat so as to constitute visible suns.

With reference to the origination of solar heat, Dr. Croll observes that "two bodies, each one-half of the mass of the sun, moving directly towards each other with a velocity of 476 miles in a second, would by their concussion generate in a single

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moment 50 millions of years' heat." More than one-half of this velocity, or 274 miles per second, according to Dr. Croll, would be derived from the mutual attractions of these immense bodies as they approached each other. Consequently it is only requisite to assume an original or projected velocity of 202 miles in a second, to obtain the increased velocity of 476 miles in a second, and with the vast distances of the stellar depths for a projectile to move in, there is no absolute limit to the amount of heat which may have been derived from motion in space, for the amount generated would depend on the velocity of motion.

Another instance of free thought, founded on high philosophical results, is the nebular theory of the Marquis La Place. He regarded the sun as, at a remote epoch, the centre of an immense nebula possessing a high temperature.

The solar nebula revolved from west to east round the central nucleus. As the nebula gradually cooled it would condense in size, and would leave an outside zone revolving separately; and as condensation continued, successive rings would thus be formed.

The structure of the rings would not be regular, and they would break up, and the most considerable body in each ring would attach smaller bodies to itself, so that in each zone there would be formed new centres of nebulæ. Planets would thus be originated, and their satellites would be formed in the revolution of the planetary nebulæ.

Few objects seen through the telescope possess a greater beauty than the disc of Saturn, with its rings and satellites. Flights of disconnected satellites, small and densely packed, form the rings. To La Place the rings appeared to be ever-present proofs of the primitive extension of the nebula of Saturn, and of the successive contractions of that once heated planetary atmosphere. The late Earl of Rosse informed me some years ago that nearly all astronomers had agreed to accept La Place's nebular theory. Modifications of the theory will be made as science advances; but the general fact remains, in the words of Mr. Proctor, "that each individual

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orb in the solar system, if not each subordinate scheme within it, has undergone a process of contraction from a former nebulous condition." *

If we examine the records of primeval natural history, a tendency to reduction is sometimes manifest in the adaptation of portions of the limbs to specific purposes.

Thus, in the North American fossil strata between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, Professor Marsh has found an ancestor of the horse in the eocene or lowest tertiary beds, the orohippus, a little animal of the horse kind, with four complete toes on each forefoot, and three toes to each hind leg. In the miocene or middle tertiary strata the miohippus, or anchitherium, occurs; this animal had three toes. In the pliocene, or upper tertiary strata were found the pliohippus and the protohippus, or hipparion, in which there were three jointed toes. In recent strata remains of the horse (*Equus caballus*) are found with one toe. On each side of the singly developed toe of the horse there was a pair of small splints, which, according to Professor Huxley, are found to be rudimentary toes. We thus have one developed toe and two toes undeveloped in the horse of the present day.

The theory put forth to explain the matter was that of development by natural selection and the survival of the fittest. These variants were all held to have descended from a common ancestry. The horse was the last term of a series of which the orohippus with four toes had been the first term, the anchitherium with three toes the second term, the hipparion the third term, and the horse of modern times the last term, with its single toe on each leg.

Professor Huxley, in comparing the flat fore paw of a bear with five toes and the one toe and two undeveloped toes of the horse, was of opinion that the horse's single toe answered to the bear's middle toe, and to the middle finger of the human hand, and that consequently the pair of splints or rudimentary toes in the horse matched with the second and fourth toes of the bear.

* "Our Place among Infinities." By Rich. A. Proctor, p. 13. 1875.

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Bear and horse were both mammals, and were both constructed on the same general plan, but with significant differences. The professor thought that this ascertained chain of facts verified so far the doctrine of evolution. There was no longer any other reasonable and fair hypothesis, and it might truly be called an ascertained fact that the various forms of the horse kind were all descended from a common ancestry. Just as certainly as there was a point from which the horse and bear diverged, so there must have been a common point whence all mammals diverged.

Mr. Darwin, on his sixty-ninth birthday, received from Germany a magnificent folio album, inscribed on its title-page "To Charles Darwin, the Reformer of Natural History," and containing the photographs of 154 German men of science. Some of the best known and most highly honoured names in Europe are comprised in this list. On the same occasion he received from Holland an album with the portraits of 217 professors and distinguished men of science in that country. These gifts show how widely the great principle of evolution is now accepted by naturalists.

At the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Leyden, in February, 1875, the degree of M.D. was granted to Mr. Charles Darwin, amid the universal cheers of a large and learned body of representatives of universities, assembled from different European countries.

In political economy the establishment of free trade forms an important example of the influence of free thought. Mr. Cobden, in 1837, declared, in private conversation to a friend, Mr. Henry Ashworth, that he was "determined to put forth his strength for the repeal of the corn and provision laws." About the same time Mr. Cobden heard Mr. John Bright speak at an education meeting in Rochdale, and he was so struck with the eloquence of the young Lancastrian that he asked for his co-operation on behalf of free trade, saying, "We will never rest until we abolish the corn laws." In 1839 the National Anti Corn-Law League was formed at Manchester.

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The Common Council of the City of London, in 1842, thus denounced the Corn Laws :—" Humphrey, Mayor.—At a common council holden in the chamber of the Guildhall the 8th December 1842, resolved—That the continued and increasing depression of the manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural interests of this country, and the wide-spreading distress of the working classes are most alarming, manufacturers without a market, and shipping without freight; capital without investment; trade without profit; and farmers struggling under a system of high rents, corn laws to restrain the importation of food, and inducing a starving people to regard the laws of their country with a deep sense of their injustice. That this Court anxiously appeals to the first minister of the Crown (Sir Robert Peel) to give practical effect to his declarations in favour of free trade by bringing forward at the earliest possible period such measures for securing the unrestricted supply of food and the employment of the people, as may effectually remove a condition of depression and distress too widely prevailing to co-exist with the safety and the preservation of our social and political institutions."—*Mereweather.*

On the 23rd December, 1845, a very influential meeting was held in the Manchester Town Hall, Mr. Robert Hyde Greg in the chair, to aid the operations of the Anti-Corn Law League. £60,000 were subscribed in the room for this purpose, and Mr. Cobden said of the free trade agitation, that "Manchester would be identified in the eyes of historians as the birthplace and the centre of the greatest moral movement since the invention of printing."

Early in 1846, Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, announced in the House of Commons that on the question of the Corn Law his own opinions had undergone a complete change. He had therefore resigned office; but when Lord John Russell found himself unable to form an administration, he had consented to resume the government.

The third reading of the Corn Law Repeal Bill was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 98. In his last

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speech on this topic Sir Robert Peel said that neither party had been justly entitled to the credit of these measures. "There has been" (he observed) "a combination of parties, and that combination and the influence of Government have led to their ultimate success; but the name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures is the name of the man who has with untiring energy, by appeals to reason, enforced their necessity, with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned: the name which ought to be associated with the success of these measures is the name of Richard Cobden."

In July, 1846, at a meeting in Manchester, Mr. Cobden ventured on the following prophecy with respect to the continu ance of free trade in this country. "I maintain," he said, that we never go back, after a question has been discussed and sifted as ours has been." "We have a principle established now, which is eternal in its truth, and universal in its application, and which must be applied in all nations and through all times, and applied not simply to commerce, but to every item of the tariffs of the world."

In conclusion, I am desirous to mention the progress of free thought with reference to English and Irish university education. Earl Russell, in 1875, published a volume of recollections and suggestions. Under the head of National Education he alludes to the establishment of the University of London in 1835, under the administration of Sir Robert Peel. He then notices that at a more recent time (1850) Mr. Heywood, brother of Sir Benjamin Heywood, brought forward a proposal for a commission to inquire into the state of the English and Irish universities. "As the organ of the Government I supported Mr. Heywood, and notwithstanding the powerful and able opposition of Mr. Gladstone I succeeded in procuring the inquiry." The Royal Commissioners on University Education, appointed on the nomination of Lord John Russell as Prime Minister, published interesting reports, which in a great degree led to legislation in 1854 about Oxford, and in

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1856 with reference to Cambridge. A clause which I moved in 1854, for limiting the declaration at matriculation in Oxford to the oath of allegiance, was carried in the House of Commons by 252 to 161; and the degree of Bachelor in Arts, Law, Medicine, and Music at Oxford was consequently opened without religious test.

A more popular form of academical government was settled both for Oxford and Cambridge, by which resident Masters of Arts enjoy much power in the election of councils in each of those seats of learning. Endowments are gradually becoming more open; and Mr. Gladstone, as Prime Minister, gave his aid to the passing of several important Acts, removing religious tests from scholarships, headships, and fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge.

Ireland has gained by the institution of the Queen's University, with her colleges at Belfast, Galway, and Cork; and Trinity College, Dublin, is advancing. Reports of Royal Commissioners have been published respecting the Scottish universities.

Parliamentary Commissioners sit from time to time with regard to both Oxford and Cambridge. The University of London has agreed to admit ladies to its degrees. A Royal Charter for a University in Manchester is under the consideration of the Government. In various quarters a friendly feeling is manifested towards the progress of free thought. Whether we look at individuals, such as Copernicus, La Place, Darwin, and Cobden, or at powerful associations and combinations exerted to promote great national or intellectual improvements, the British people gain in their position among the nations of the world by the liberty permitted in these islands to the development of mental energy, and the Royal Historical Society may have the pleasure occasionally of recording the vantage-ground obtained by freedom of intelligence.

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THE TRANSITION FROM HEATHEN TO CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION,

FROM THE TIME OF THE ANTONINES TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

By the Rev. WILLIAM J. IRONS, D.D.,
Bampton Lecturer, 1870; Prebendary of St. Paul's; Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, &c.

THE old legal *dictum*, that Christianity is "part and parcel of the law of the land," had a more definite meaning in the days of Blackstone than now; and the somewhat popular saying, that "religion is an affair between a man and his God," considerably modifies the fact every day, not only in England, but in all Europe. Christianity, of course, has not been interwoven with the laws of Western Christendom for so many ages without greatly moulding the men and the institutions of the present; but we can see that its influence will, in future, be felt less and less as a definite objective system, even if more and more (as we may trust) subjectively.

For now a change is going on in the external relations of Religion and Civilization, which has hardly as yet attracted the attention of social philosophy in proportion to its importance. We are all more or less in a state of transition, in society and in politics, from Italy to England (to include no larger range), and it is better to understand which way we are going than to drift into our future without seeing our path. It may help our philosophy if, as is now proposed, we look back to some former transitions of social life, especially in Europe.

It is by no means uncommon to hear men speak of the

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transition from Roman paganism to Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire, as if it had simply been the authoritative engrafting of a set of chosen religious opinions and forms of worship on the same old social system—to which a natural antithesis now might be a declining on the part of the State to continue its preference, and even in future to leave out religion. But such a view is not only inadequate, but so much so as to be quite misleading. It supposes the general civilization—(that is, the existing order of family life, the admitted rights of men, and the institutions of property) to have been mainly the same under the old Religion and the new. It treats the position then taken up by policy as a novelty; and it overlooks the fact that civilization, as far back as history reaches, has always, in reality, been *based* on Religion of some kind, and not simply been associated with it as a chosen opinion. It had been so, *e.g.*, in pre-Christian Rome. In Egypt and Palestine, of which we know most, the very government was anciently a sacred hierarchy. In Babylon, Assyria, and Persia it had been the hypothesis of the entire social order, though deep religious changes began 600 years B.C. In India and China, and the whole East, the complex life of all men had a stereotyped *sacredness*, which to this day makes progress in civilization almost impossible. The very Education in China, with its 400 millions of people, is entirely a religious State concern, and the complete competitive examination of candidates is the means of stifling originality indeed, but also of securing the transmission of the government of the "Celestial Empire" to the duly qualified officials. It is an unhistorical fancy then to imagine that the convictions and traditions of men's consciences are fundamentally separable from their social life. And that is a delusion on which our nineteenth century is not unlikely in several ways to stumble.

We have, however, in the first public appearance of our Religion, a phenomenon to a great extent unique, though not in the crude non-social way above referred to. It started into life under the religious shadow of Judaism, which again was

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itself under the larger shadow of that vast complex organization of the Roman empire, of which we have to speak. It accepted in the main the social system of the synagogue; but it extended itself to the world beyond Judaism, and then came into collision very soon with the religious and moral laws of the empire. A brief glance at that Roman civilization is necessary in order to see the position inevitably taken up by the Christian Church, as it cleared itself from Judaism (which had a restricted sort of concordat with Rome as its conqueror), and then we shall observe how it advanced on the empire and became its Religion.

The laws and institutions of the Roman world had been the growth of at least, say, 500 years before the Augustan era.

The *Populus Romanus*, the ancient Roman people, had always been socially bound together by Religious ties. Every family may be described, from very primitive times, as a sacred corporation. But the "populus" was jealous of the least intrusion of the unprivileged masses, the "plebs," who, following in the wake of conquest or of prosperity, flocked more and more to the city. All the power was kept in the "Roman people," and the outside population was not for ages permitted to even intermarry with the pure citizens. From the time of the Decemvirs onwards to the Emperors such restriction was gradually and at last entirely relaxed.

The great body of Roman law, destined in the future to influence so largely the order of the civilized world, practically began from "the Twelve Tables," which were regarded by the Romans with as much awe as the Decalogue was by the Jews 1,000 years before. These Tables were the result of the labour of the Decemvirs, (half of them citizens and half plebeians), who formed into a code the traditions of the nation. The Twelve Tables were gradually supplemented by a constantly growing "common law." The conquests of the Romans at length brought them into increasing intercourse with other peoples, and "edicts" were consequently promulgated to meet the extending social needs.

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These decrees or edicts tended to become more and more an enlarged and permanent body of additional law; and by the time of Augustus the power of making "edicts," which grew out of the Pretorian jurisdiction, was exercised almost directly by the head of the State, who yet observed in doing it all the popular forms of the old Republic. At the end of the first century of our era, the Emperor Hadrian, with the assistance of the lawyers, issued a comprehensive Edict called "Perpetual." From this time onwards, however, the Roman law still grew, embodying more and more fully, in Edicts, the principles of a high equity, and was digested by a succession of eminent jurists, and received, centuries later, a formal completion, first in the "Theodosian Code" (in the year 438)—(which brought together the Constitutions of the Emperors of the preceding 100 years); and in the "Codex Justinianus" (529), in which Tribonian and his coadjutors are said to have condensed the substance of the thousands of volumes of law which had grown to that time.

Dionysius Exiguus in the West, about the same time, brought together the Ecclesiastical laws, under which from the time of the apostles the Christians of the Empire had been internally organized and guided; and these were largely incorporated at length as part of the Roman law in the Code, the Digest, and the Novells of Justinian. The imperial "Edicts" were just that part of the system of Roman law which, being added, and changed from time to time, gave an easy point of contact to Christianity as it grew into the Empire.

It must now, however, be repeated, and borne in mind *fully*, that hitherto the Roman law, with its rights and privileges, and even to the fall of the empire of the West, professed to be for the citizens; and that in Rome itself, and all the great cities of the empire, half the population at least were slaves, who for centuries were not "persons," but "*things*," in the eye of the law. As that is the state of society which Christianity had to meet in Roman heathenism everywhere, it is necessary to look at it a little more attentively, to see

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(in some degree of detail) what it *meant* in Roman civilization.

Very few citizens, *e.g.*, of respectable position, would have less than three or four slaves.—Horace the poet, in the time of Augustus, not a rich man, had twelve.—Wealthy men had hundreds, and even thousands on their estate. For *everything* was done by slaves. It is true that between the wealthy Roman, with his broad lands, which agrarian laws could not successfully limit, and the slave who was his property, there was a tolerated body of idlers, who as of *right* lived on the public bounty to a great extent. These were able to offer themselves, if they chose, as free labourers; but their fellow-workers were slaves, and association with them was thought vile; nor could the Trades Unions of free labour in the Empire, useful though they were, much ameliorate the condition of free toil. In the large estates of rich free Romans, we repeat, everything was done by slaves, whether it were for production or sale of produce, or personal service. Thus the corn was grown, the bread made, the food all provided, the meals dressed, the clothes of every kind manufactured (and what was not wanted sold), the premises built and kept in order, the trades taught, the Education of the children carried on, the medical treatment secured, every domestic detail seen to—by *slaves*. The value of a female slave was about one-third of a male in the second century—it was more in the fourth,—and at times she was bought on the understanding that she might be manumitted if she bore three children on the estate. The extent of the traffic may be well judged by the fact that in a great slave market, such as that at Delos, it has been said, as many as 50,000 human beings would change owners in a day; Strabo says, "myriads daily." The utmost degradation of both citizens and slaves was inevitable; nor was there any serious attempt to put into use the laws which aimed from time to time to check abuses and "protect" slaves from too severe treatment, on the ground of *humanity* (very much as we should check cruelty to animals).

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No slaves, of course, could legally marry: they might propagate, under certain conditions. A "family" was only possible to a free citizen. On social grounds even the citizen was anxious to set limits to his family. Celibacy was the fashion of the cities. Abortion, and exposure of children, if too numerous (especially female children, were the habits of the citizen. Religion and humanity vainly remonstrated. Philosophy scarcely objected. The Empire was decaying. The Emperor till the time of Gratian was at the head of the Religion of the people, and he long admitted to the Pantheon the gods of all conquered nations; while at his death the form of *apotheosis* had ranked him also among the gods. The best of the Emperors (in the second century) found their own creed in the fatalism of the Stoic philosophy; the people theirs in astrology, omens, and augury of various kinds. The old pagan deities and mythology were openly scoffed at. The last superstition which survived, and long had signs of life (and was a devotion of a private or family kind), was that of their domestic "lares,"—a last remain of ancestral piety and affection for the dead, which was often rekindled under the Empire, and did more than anything else to consolidate paganism for its last struggle. This inner superstition was varied in many ways in the outlying provinces of the Empire; for a self-government in social, and family, and religious matters was largely conceded under the Roman laws to conquered peoples. Human nature, too, needs more of government, more of sympathy, than political organizations can give; and guilds and sodalities of countless kinds did the work of what we may call an inner civilization; just as among ourselves strange sects of Religion, and Freemasons, Odd Fellows, Conferences of various kinds, and secret societies—from the Holy Cross and other private brotherhoods of Christians down to the International Communists and Nihilists—supplement the supposed needs of humanity, or try to do so. They all tell that the outer polity does not suffice for the needs of man's inner nature. The Christian Church organization was adapted perhaps to supply such a

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need eventually ; but its scope was comprehensive, and it had, as has been seen, many obstacles to encounter at that time in the existing order of society.

For Roman society, as it then was, had the strong growing support of a digested law, law suiting itself to the changes ever going on, and ministered to by the whole acting imperial system. The Edict of the Emperor, was in fact, at all times the motive power, to put in action any of the greater social changes in the life of the Roman world. To complete, therefore, a view of the Imperial Civilization we must glance at the Emperors themselves, who crowned it all.

"The twelve Cæsars" (reckoning Julius Cæsar and closing with Domitian), undoubtedly improved the Roman society. There was an advance above the deep moral and political degradation which made the declining years of the republic the humiliating spectacle described by every classic writer of the age—historian, orator, satirist, or poet. Still the fact remains, that such were the times and such the men, that only Augustus and Vespasian among all the "Twelve Cæsars," for certain, died a natural death, ten probably being murdered. The century from Domitian to the death of Marcus Aurelius is the opposite of this in every way. Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, all departed peaceably, and the Empire was far better governed by the philosopher Emperors than by the "Twelve Cæsars."

Then came a century of tyrants, twenty-one or more, Commodus and his successors to Diocletian. Twenty of them also were murdered. Septimus Severus was the only one who died a natural death. They were partly *quasi*-imbeciles, partly savage soldiers and monsters, supposed to be elected by the senate, but actually chosen and proclaimed by the army (and more than once purchasing the dignity). It was social ruin to allow this course of things to proceed. Diocletian resolved, on the death of his predecessor, to effect an entire reform of the imperial appointment, for the security of all law and all civil society. His plan to provide the safe succession of emperors was to appoint "two Augusti,"

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at Nicomedia in the east, and at Milan in the west, and two "Cæsars" on the extreme borders of the empire, who should sustain among them the unity of the empire,—two of them undertaking the external and two the internal affairs. The laws were to be promulgated under the names of both the "Augusti." The "two Cæsars" were to be with the army. The four constituted one Imperial power, and were all of them "Emperors." Diocletian and his general Maximianus were, in the first instance, "the Augusti"—Diocletian's name standing first in state documents. Galerius and Constantius were "Cæsars." They were to move up to the highest of the four places by seniority, as vacancies occurred; and, if possible, members of the Cæsar families supplied the lower vacancies, and possibly in emergencies, the senate might advise. The two Augusti were to abdicate, if they lived to hold office twenty years. Diocletian and Maximianus lived to abdicate.

The head Augustus, who was emphatically Emperor, was in little danger of assassination under this system; the motive was gone. Under it, Constantine the Great, as son of Constantius Chlorus, Cæsar, eventually became Emperor, and after his death the empire was divided among his three sons. But here what may be called the Diocletian "Constitutional Reform" failed. It was too intricate to work. It was successful during Diocletian's own twenty years in concentrating the imperial power, and keeping the Empire one. Still Constantine by the course of events became, after all, sole Emperor. So, at last, did his second son Constantius, by outliving his brothers. Julian, the cousin of Constantius, succeeded him in the empire, and during his short two years of government endeavoured to restore paganism. Next Jovian, a Christian, who tolerated both religions, reigning but seven months; and he was succeeded by Valentinian I., who divided the eastern part of the empire to his brother Valens. The 'constitutional' empire thus came to an end in a formal division which was briefly arrested for his own time by Theodosius the Great, who succeeded Valens. But the sons

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of Theodosius continued the division, and in the next century, as was inevitable, the Western Empire was fully overthrown by Odoacer, who sacked Rome, and became king of Italy.

The Roman empire was carried on in the East by Theodosius II. grandson of the great Theodosius, and by Pulcheria his sister, and then by her husband Marcian. Marcian died in 453, and was succeeded by Leo, an Arian, who received the imperial crown from the patriarch of Constantinople, and died in 474. The Goths were then destroying the Empire of the West, and Odoacer their king was establishing himself on the ruins of Rome as king of the Goths in Italy, and resigned, with the concurrence of the senate, the title of Emperor to Zeno the new Emperor of the East. The Goths, more than 200 years before, it may be remembered, smote the fierce tyrant Emperor Decius and his two sons, in the midst of his persecutions of the Christians; and now recently had slain Valens, the Arian Emperor of the East, not very far from the same spot in the Danubian province. The Goths of the Danube had become Christians in a rude fashion, long before the fall of the West.

Civilization and law now seemed to fall back on the East. The Emperors Zeno, Anastasius, Justin I., and Justinian bring us to the great legal consolidation of the Roman and Christian institutions; but the consideration of the history beyond this point lies, of course, apart from our present scope.

From the day when Valentinian and his brother divided the Empire itself, the West was evidently doomed, or rather a new destiny marked out for it. The empire of the East continued and outlived pagan Rome for a thousand years, (for the dozen Emperors of the West who preceded the Fall were, for twenty years, almost nominal). Odoacer in 476 completed the destructions wrought, in series, by Alaric the Goth (410), Attila the Hun (452), and Genseric the Vandal (455). The Hun Attila (who had devastated seventy cities of the empire of the East) was stopped in the West by the Bishop of Rome, Leo I. A preceding Pope, Innocent, in 410 had been indeed on a mission to the Emperor Honorius at Ravenna, in behalf

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of the besieged city (for the Bishop was looked to as their guardian in that distress); and on his return, pagan Rome was really destroyed in Alaric's third visit; and then the power of her Christian bishop was at the same time practically established. For henceforth it was a Christian city; and even the barbarians that again assailed her had in some sort embraced the Christian name. The remarkable law of Valentinian III. (see *Baronius*,) thus established the Papacy. Innocent, we see, had partly saved Rome from Alaric (410); Leo from Attila, and from Genseric (455); as Gregory did from the Lombards long afterwards.

We have now arrived at the accomplished change from Imperial paganism to Christianity in the Roman world. The pagan Sacrifices and the gladiatorial shows had been abolished by Theodosius and his son Honorius. But the Empire itself was gone.

The topic on which we have not enlarged is the Education of the people,—from the days when Vespasian gave patronage and endowment to professors of literature and art, at a time when the pedagogue or schoolmaster was a slave, and the Schools of Alexandria and Greece,—the Academy, the Lyceum, the Garden, and the Porch, and then the Eclectics, —guided the higher thought of the Roman world, to the days of Ausonius, the tutor of the last monarch of the undivided Empire, or finally to the closing of the heathen schools by Justinian. The subject is large enough for a distinct essay. But we can only name the results. The Imperial schools had passed on into the schools of Cassian and of the monasteries—but the conquest of Christianity was achieved before the monastic institute had taken root in the West. The Theodosian code at length gives us in sufficient detail the position of the Schoolmaster of the fourth century. He was practically *free* by edict.

It is in the advances of the Roman *Law* that we finally mark the gradual changes of the basis of Civilization in respect of Christianity. If we notice some of the Edicts we shall see the progress externally; just as, in the Religion

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itself, we mark the internal growth of the Divine society. Our Religion under the twelve Cæsars was regarded as a form of Judaism; but, as such, it adopted the Jewish law of marriage, the rules of affinity, and the subordination of the family,—asserting personal responsibility for all men, and "marriage honourable in all." The extent to which the Christian-Jewish social system spread was rapidly felt. Without attacking, *e.g.*, the wrong nurture of children, or the dark Roman slavery, in argument, Christians were taught to receive all men as "brethren." Then the Christian societies which were formed soon were obliged to go beyond all rules conceded to other exclusive societies of various kinds. The people really obeyed their Ecclesiastics, and even philosophical Emperors had to restrain this. Edicts were published, however, forbidding all unnecessary attacks on Christians, or their societies, by Trajan and Hadrian, and the Antonines of the next hundred years after Domitian. The persecutions, if they came, were *forced* on the Emperors by the fanatical and interested among the heathen; and Apologists of much power (like Justin) were listened to, whether patiently or not, by the Emperors when appealed to. Christianity asked to be understood. Meanwhile it discouraged the grosser forms of heathenism and all the more sensual aspects of society. Purity in family life, sustaining and bringing up orphans or exposed children, converting slaves and treating them as free—even making some of them bishops and priests,—such was the moral course taken by Christianity. Forbidding by strict rules of discipline all concessions of impurity in slave life, Christians were ever resting their cause, even to the extent of martyrdom, simply on its goodness.

The Tyrant Emperors from Commodus to Diocletian issued severe and even extirpating "edicts." Septimus Severus, and more thoroughly Decius and Valerian, were among the worst. They aimed at the extinction of Christianity, and especially of the *clergy*, by edict after edict. Diocletian sought out its very literature. But in vain. Gallienus, one of the worst of the tyrants, not only was constrained to give

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an edict of toleration, but he allowed the holding of property and the building of grand churches. Christians at length were seen in great positions, being regarded even by the tyrant emperors as most trustworthy. Barbarians, like the Goths, became nationally Christian soon after Diocletian's time. In the next century the Goths had a translation of the Bible in their own tongue. More than a fifth of the empire, taking the provinces through, was nominally Christian. The schools of Gaul and the West, such as Autun (from the days of Tacitus), Treves, Clermont, Besançon, Lyons, Vienna, Narbonne, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and others, in which the Roman jurisprudence was studied, became so far Christianized that Julian the Apostate, when he forbade Christians to be instructors, could not carry out the edict. The whole social mass was so penetrated, that even slavery was changing its nature while retaining its name. And under Theodosius, the paganism which had been hitherto tolerated side by side with Christianity, east and west, by the edicts of Nicomedia (311) and Milan (313), was absolutely forbidden. Gratian, his predecessor, was the last Pontifex Maximus.

A code of canons already referred to which had gradually grown up in the whole Christian Church in Europe, Asia, and Africa, from the fall of Jerusalem to the division of the Empire—the "Canons of the Apostles," as they were called,—and then of Synods, were gathered from all parts of the church, and incorporated largely among the Laws of the Empire,—canons providing for the structure of the main features of a religious and social Civilization, and practically making the old pagan life impossible even in "the family," where its last battle was fought. When Rome at length fell to Alaric, the old temples were obliterated but the Christian buildings spared, especially the churches.

The Council of Chalcedon had desired that the organization of the Church and the Empire should, as far as possible, coincide. The bishops and their subordinates were really men of the best culture of the times; and the whole fabric of Government became Christian in Church and State more

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rapidly than the Religion itself could penetrate to the masses; nor did the overthrow of the Empire, which Christianity could not avert, reverse this. Here we must pause.

The Civilization of Europe since then has passed through many phases, from Justinian to Charlemagne; from his Capitularies, through the feudal times, even down to the Code Napoleon, 1,000 years later; but the Justinian Code, and the Canon Law mingled with it, have been the ground of the social system in the West, and even in the East so far as it remained Christian. In the West, Christianity has also finally vindicated personal freedom and individual responsibility.

I do not say that the state of Europe is satisfactory, and now needs no more change; but I do say that, in the complicated system of life inherited by us, a change of the Christian foundations of human intercommunion, contemplated by some, is a serious thing. It must be so anywhere.

What, then, is our ideal? Rough change might soon involve a new kind of barbarism. A real withdrawal, *e.g.*, of one public element, the Religious which some would desire, could not, as far as now seen, leave all the rest workable. Our next transition must and will be ethical. It will be social throughout, like all the former—for human nature will have *principle* to rest on at last; can it help being Religious? Great changes are no doubt imminent, for the bases of modern Civilization are deeply disturbed. No one can look back on the past, and even in thought fix on any legal or social order of things that *ought* as a whole to be restored in Italy, or in Germany, or Spain, or France, or England. No one can look around him now with any knowledge, and form an easy conservative philosophy. The relations of Christianity and Society are changing; and the problems of the future must make good men and earnest Christians thoughtful.

I conclude by repeating the inquiry, *What is our ideal?* Can it be the old Roman Law, deducting the Christian element and adding a kind of experimental Positivism in the place of the paganism set aside by Theodosius? What is our ideal of Society in the future?

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DOMESTIC EVERY-DAY LIFE, AND MANNERS AND CUSTOMS IN THIS COUNTRY,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., LL.D., F S.A,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

III.—*From the Norman Conquest to the end of the Thirteenth Century.*

THE Norman conquest, when William, Duke of Normandy, in the year 1066, landed in this country with a number of his chosen followers, and after killing King Harold in battle, and routing his army, established here the Norman sway, and introduced new laws and customs and manners, is one of those leading events in the history of this country by which the most important results upon its whole career, and more especially the cause of its civilization, were produced. True it is that the bulk of the people remained, and many of their institutions continued unchanged. But a great deal that was new was engrafted on the old. The native inhabitants were brought into immediate contact with the people of another country, who were not only more powerful than themselves,* but who possessed different habits and pursuits and modes of thought, and who varied from them essentially in character and disposition; besides being used to a manner of living entirely varying from what they found here, and who were moreover determined, as the dominant power, to make changes in the government and institutions of the kingdom. Civilization was thus advanced by the coming in contact of

* Civilization considered as a Science.

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the people of the two countries, and by the superior cultivation possessed by the Normans; and a very great stimulus was given to art, commerce, and national enterprise of every description. Hence, although I do not intend to give an account of the battles and political contests which occurred during their early career in this country, yet the Norman conquest is so intimately connected with, and had so important an influence on the habits, pursuits, and general condition of the people in this land, that it is absolutely necessary, in order correctly to become acquainted with the latter, to take a general survey of the former also.

We are told that the state of this country, just before the arrival of the Normans, was such that it directly invited the attacks of an enemy. The great towns, with few exceptions, were either quite open or fortified only by stockades and banks, or perhaps by a ruinous Roman wall; and the English themselves, although very brave, were decidedly inferior to the people of the continental nations in the art of war. And although they were stout and well fed, yet they were so dreadfully addicted to drinking that they were quite unnerved by their excesses in this vice.*

William, Duke of Normandy, who was a sort of sovereign prince over that part of France which is still called by the same name, was born at the castle of Falaise, in Normandy, of the ruins of which a representation, copied from a sketch I made on the spot, has been deposited in the Society's archives. The castle stands on a firm rock, overlooking a wild valley, down which a torrent rushes. This edifice is, indeed, a magnificent specimen of Norman architecture, and tourists in Normandy will do well to pay it a visit. The outer walls are of great antiquity, and in excellent preservation. The breach in them made by Henry IV. of France, when he besieged the castle in 1589, is still to be seen. The keep rises from the precipitous side of the ravine below. It is a huge square pile, massively built and unornamented, except with a few traces here and there of herring-bone masonry.

* Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 345.

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Inside it has been completely gutted. The well, cut deep into the solid rock, which of old supplied its defenders with water, is open to view. The noble tower, which remains almost entire, is round and perfectly plain in structure, of smooth masonry, some 130 feet high, with walls 15 feet thick. A winding stone staircase leads to the different stories; and a hole through the centre of the flooring of each opens a way to the oubliettes far down in the darkness below, and into the depths of which many an unfortunate wretch has, in times bygone, been precipitated. From one of the windows of the castle it is said that William's father, Duke Robert, watched and fell in love with a very beautiful girl, the daughter of a tanner who lived in one of the huts in the valley below the castle, and whom he saw washing herself in the stream. She afterwards became the mother of a little boy, who eventually succeeded his father in his title and dominions, and was called William the Conqueror, from his successful invasion of this country. The room in which the Conqueror was born is pointed out among the ruins of the castle of Falaise, and the tanneries are still carried on under the castle walls.

On one occasion in after years, while William the Conqueror was laying siege to the town of Alençon, the inhabitants, meaning to reproach him for his lowly birth, called out from the top of their walls, "The hide, the hide, have at the hide!" and shook and beat pieces of tanned leather, as William's maternal grandfather had probably been in the habit of doing. When the Conqueror heard of this he caused the feet and hands of all the Alençon prisoners in his power to be cut off, and then thrown by his slingers within the walls of the town.*

William was one day hunting in the park of Rouen, surrounded by a noble train of knights, esquires, and damsels, when a sergeant or messenger, just arrived from England, hastened into his presence, and told him that Edward the Confessor, the late King of England, was dead, and that a new

* Pictorial History of England, vol. i., p. 192.

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king, Harold by name, had assumed the crown. The bow dropped out of William's hand, and he was unnerved by anxiety and surprise. He did not speak a word, but we are told that he looked so fierce that everybody was frightened. He crossed over the Seine in a little boat still silent, went into the hall of his palace, sat himself down, wrapped his head in a mantle, and bent his body downward. This was not a very dignified or noble course for a sovereign prince and brave warrior to pursue, nor one which was very likely to induce Harold to resign his crown, or to prove to the followers of William that he was particularly well calculated to fill the English throne. In course of time, however, William seems to have got into a better humour, and he at last condescended to speak to some of his humble servants in attendance, and determined to assert his right to the English crown, which he claimed as the next heir of the late King Edward.* Soon after this he set sail for England, his fleet amounting to nearly 600 ships, besides a great many smaller vessels. The ship in which he sailed was given to him by his wife Matilda, and he distinguished it from all the others, as at night it had a cresset which flamed on the topmast, and in the daytime it had very splendid ornaments and decorations. The crimson sails swelled to the wind, the gilded vanes glittered in the sun; and at the head of the ship was the effigy of a child armed with a bow and arrow, and ready to discharge his shaft against the hostile land.†

William of Normandy was advised, in order to ensure success in his expedition, to bring over with him the bones of St. Valery, and a ring containing one of St. Peter's hairs.‡

Sometime before this, and before Harold became king, he had been so unfortunate as to be shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, and to fall into William's hands, who made him take an oath that he would assist William in gaining the crown of England. In order to make the oath more binding,

* Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 363. † *Ibid.*
‡ Pictorial History of England, vol. i., p. 206.

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William had placed a large tub full of relics of the bones of saints, but covered over with a rich cloth so that they were not seen, in the chamber where the oath was taken.* When Harold returned to England he refused to fulfil his engagement, on the ground that he had been compelled to take the oath against his will. Owing to contrary gales, some delay occurred in the assembling of William the Conqueror's fleet; but on the eve of St. Michael a prosperous wind arose, and carried the whole armament across the waves. They found the English coast entirely unprotected, but there were numbers of peasants on the cliffs, who were in great alarm at the approach of the vessels, which they said had been foretold by the dreadful comet that a short time before had been blazing in the sky. William's fleet landed between Hastings and Pevensey.

A number of war-horses and archers were brought over in the vessels, as well as several knights in armour, and numerous banners.† King Harold soon afterwards encountered them, but was slain, and his army dispersed; the conquering Normans advanced into the heart of the kingdom, and Duke William was at once acknowledged as King of England.

Had any of us been living at the time of which I am now speaking, we should probably have been told that a shepherd who was looking after his flock on one of the hills behind Hastings, first thought that he spied something very strange far out at sea, he could not tell what, but it seemed like a huge vessel very long and flat. Afterwards, as it got nearer, it appeared like a floating island. Still it approached the coast; and all at once, when the sun came out and shone upon it, it sparkled like a cluster of diamonds, and bristles seemed to spring up, which those who were watching it soon saw were spears; and they perceived also sails and flags of red, and white, and blue, and other different colours. By and by,

* Pictorial History of England, vol. i., p. 206.

† Palgrave's Hist. "Ang.-Sax.," pp. 368, 369, 370, 371.

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as the fleet approached the shore, they could see the different vessels quite plain, and the men standing in them, some in bright armour, and some with bows in their hands. At last the ships were seen to come to the land, and the men got out and leaped on the shore, and they heard them shout and call out merrily as they left the ships.

The people on the hills, as soon as they saw this strange object at sea, made signs and called out to the people in the huts in the little village below, since grown into a town and called by the name of Hastings, to look at it, and they soon came running up the cliffs very fast. Before long nearly all the people, men, women, and children, had left their houses and climbed up the sides of the steep hill. When the fleet landed they all ran away fast; some hid themselves in the woods, others took refuge in the churches, while a party of young men set off to let King Harold and his army know of the strange visitors that had arrived at our shores, and said they were quite sure that their noble king and his brave army, which looked so valiant, and who had been victorious in every battle, would soon drive them back into the sea, although others thought there was never such an army as this Norman one seen in England before. Several of the Norman soldiers, owing to their wearing the hair short and shaving the upper lip, were mistaken by the poor English for priests.* But our unfortunate forefathers soon found the difference to their cost. The old people seemed very grave, and talked to one another a good deal of the great comet which had lately appeared, an account of which is contained in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to which I several times referred in my last paper, and remembered how their wise men had declared that something dreadful would soon follow. The following is the reference to the comet in question noted down in this trusty record :—

"A. 1066. In this year King Harold came from York to Westminster, at that Easter which was after the midwinter in which the

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 210.

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king died; and Easter was then on the day 16th before the Kalends of May. There was over all England such a token seen in the heavens as no man ever before saw. Some men said it was Cometa, the star which some men called the sacred star. . . . King Harold gathered so great a ship force, and also a land force, as no king here in the land had before done; because it was made known that William the Bastard would come hither and win this land; all as it afterwards happened."

A curious compound of pride, piety, and rapacity appears to have been William the Conqueror, and the traditionary account preserved of his death and the cause of it, and also of his funeral, are highly characteristic both of himself and of the rude age in which he lived. The King of France remarked one day to his courtiers on the increasing corpulency of his brother of England, and inquired facetiously when a certain "interesting event," which might naturally be expected as the consequence, was likely to take place. William, indignant at the affront, went over to France and besieged and burnt the city of Mantes; but venturing too near the flames, and being thrown from his horse, he died in consequence. He was buried in the magnificent church of St. Etienne at Caen, which he had built there. But while the funeral was proceeding a poor cobbler stepped forward and demanded compensation for the ground on which the church stood, of which he had been fraudulently and forcibly dispossessed by William, ere he would allow the solemnities to proceed. William's ashes rested in the grave in St. Etienne, which is still pointed out, until the French Revolution, when, as little respect being shown for the dead as for the living, the tomb was violated and his ashes were dispersed.

The Normans found this country possessed of considerable capital, and of a flourishing foreign commerce. Merchants from distant countries were at this time accustomed to import to England articles of foreign manufacture that were unknown in Normandy, and the resident merchants in London and Winchester were possessed of great wealth. Exeter was also distinguished for its opulence, and was much

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resorted to by foreign merchants.* It was so well walled and fortified that it was able to resist the Conqueror for eighteen days. Oxford, Warwick, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and York were all fortified places, and made sufficient resistance to provoke the utmost vengeance of the conquering army. At Leicester there appears to have been a citadel.† It is a remarkable fact, however, that, with very few exceptions, all the towns and even villages and hamlets which England yet possesses appear to have existed from the Saxon times. And if only about twenty-eight of our cities and towns, or even twice that number, can be traced to a Roman original, the number indebted to the Saxons for their first foundation must be very great. The present division of the country into parishes is about as old as the tenth century.‡

From the following entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it appears that London was desolated by fire in the year 1077.

"1077. This year, on the night before the Assumption of St. Mary, there was a more dreadful fire in London than had ever happened since the town was built. And the moon was eclipsed the night before Candlemas. . . . There was this year a dry summer, and wild-fire burnt many towns, and many cities were ruined by it."

It must be borne in mind that at this period most of the buildings were constructed of wood, so that fires when they did occur were difficult to check. In a subsequent entry in the Chronicle it is recorded that "the whole town of Lincoln was burnt, with a great number of persons, both men and women; and so much harm was done that no man could tell another how great the damage was." The destruction by fire of St. Paul's is recorded as follows in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1087:—

"A. 1087. This same year, before harvest, St. Paul's minster, the residence of the Bishop of London, was burnt, together with many other monasteries, and the greater and handsomer part of the whole

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 584.
† *Ibid.*, p. 318. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

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city; at the same time likewise almost all the principal towns of England were burnt down. Oh, how sad and deplorable was this year, which brought forth so many calamities!"

The cathedral of St. Paul's seems again to have been destroyed in less than an hundred years after this time, as it had to be rebuilt in the year 1187, and the stone used and the workmen employed were from Normandy.* William the Conqueror was indeed rather famous for building churches, and there are two very noble ones at Caen, in Normandy, still standing, which were erected by him. St. Paul's, in London, was reared upon arches of stone, and was considered a very wonderful work at that time.†

At this period some of the streets of London were exclusively inhabited by the richest Jews in Europe.‡ Hatred of and cruelty towards the Jews was, however, a marked characteristic of the Anglo-Normans.§ The Tower of London is supposed to have been originally erected soon after the Norman conquest.‖

Fires in London and other large towns continued to be very frequent during the Anglo-Norman period. Thus it is recorded in one of the chronicles of that time that in the reign of Henry I., "Chichester, with the principal monastery, was burnt down. From West Cheap in London to Aldgate a long tract of buildings was consumed by fire. Worcester also, and Rochester, even in the king's presence; then Winchester, Bath, Gloucester, Lincoln, Peterborough, and other places did also partake of this calamity."¶ We are informed by the same chronicle that in the seventeenth year of Henry II.—

"There was seen in St. Osythes, in Essex, a dragon of marvellous bignesse, which, by moving, burnt houses, and the whole city of Canterbury was the same year almost burnt. In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne the church of Norwich, with the houses thereto

* Thompson's Illust. London, vol. ii., p. 14. † *Ibid.*
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 271. § *Ibid.*, p. 284.
‖ Penny Cycl., art. London.
¶ Baker's Chronicle, Hist. of Henry I., pp. 57, 58.

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belonging, was burnt, and the monkes dispersed. At Lincoln a priest praying before the altar was slain with thunder, likewise one clerke and his brother was burnt to death with lightning. In the five and twentyeth yere the city of Yorke was burnt. . . . . Also in the same yeare on the 10th of April the church of St. Andrews in Rochester was consumed with fire. In the eight and twentyeth year of his reigne, Barnewell, with the priory, near unto Cambridge, was burnt. In the 30th year the abbey of Glastonbury was burnt, with the church of St. Julian, and on the 20th of October the cathedral church of Chichester and all the whole city was burnt. In the yeare 1188, on the 20th of September, the towne of Beverley, with the church of St. John there, was burnt." *

In the reign of Henry III. it is recorded that "the church of St. Mildred, in Canterbury, and a great part of the city was burnt. Also the towne of Newcastle-upon-Tine, bridge and all." †

Several castles were built in this country by the Normans, which were strongly walled, and provided with deep moats or dry fosses, guarded with stakes and piles, so that the soldiers could never get beyond them to fight; and over the gates were chambers from which boiling oil and molten lead or pitch was poured down upon the enemy when they had advanced to the gate-house. ‡

The existence and building of castles is referred to in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, although not until the reign of King Stephen. Thus,—

"A. 1137. When King Stephen came to England he held an assembly at Oxford; and there he seized Roger Bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and Roger the Chancellor, his nephew, and he kept them all in prison till they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and a soft, and a good, and that he did not enforce justice, they did all wonder. They had done homage to him, and sworn oaths, but they no faith kept; all became forsworn and broke their allegiance, for every rich

* Baker's Chronicle, Hist. of Henry II., pp. 79, 80.
† *Ibid.*, Hist. of Henry III., p. 123.
‡ Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 116.

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man built his castles, and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men."

The owners of these castles are accused in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of—

"Seizing persons who were supposed to be possessed of gold and silver, torturing them severely to make them give up their treasures; swinging them up by their feet and smoking them. Some they put into foul dungeons with adders and toads. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger."*

Nevertheless among the "works of piety" done by Henry II., the building of Warwick Castle is enumerated as one of them.†

To this period belongs the renowned and picturesque castle of Warkworth, in Northumberland, although the precise date of its erection is not known. Although but a ruin, it is one of the noblest monuments of ancient grandeur. It is placed on a rocky eminence, a river running at its base, and the sea being about a mile distant. The keep stands on the north side, and is elevated on an artificial mount several feet higher than the other parts. Its figure is a square with the angles cut away; from the middle of each side of the square there is a turret. Inside the castle are spacious apartments arched with stone, which are supposed to have been used as a refuge for cattle in troublous times. In one of these rooms there is a perpendicular hole that leads to a deep dungeon, which is fifteen feet square, and is flagged with stone. This was the place of confinement for prisoners, from which it was impossible to escape, and into which they were let down, as they were also drawn up from it, by ropes. The baronial hall is thirty-nine feet long, twenty-four broad, and about twenty feet high.‡

Instead of artillery the Normans had numerous powerful machines for casting arrows, combustible materials, hot and

* A.D. 1037. † Baker's Chronicle, Hist. of Henry II., p. 79.
‡ Mackenzie's View of Northumberland, vol. ii., pp. 112-114.

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cold stones, and other offensive articles. Of these were the scorpion, a large stationary steel crossbow which discharged an arrow; and the onager, or wild colt (an animal supposed to throw stones by the force of its heels), had great power in discharging large fragments of stone. The war-wolf was anciently a frame made of heavy beams to destroy assailants at a gate, by falling on them like a portcullis; though it subsequently became an engine for casting stones.

Plate armour appears not to have been adopted until about the time of Henry the Fifth, when the cavalry were all clothed in steel from head to foot, so that nothing could be seen but the eyes, the armour being fastened by a padlock. The shields were either made like long hearts, or were circular targets, and the weapons were long two-handed swords, having various punishments delineated on the blades, used for beheading. Cannon were not used in the field until the fifteenth century, when the English appear to have employed several kinds of pieces. The use of portable fire-arms in this nation seems to have been known in 1440 or 1446, when they were called hand-guns and made of brass. The length and weight of these early pieces introduced what were called rests, which consisted of a kind of fork stuck into the ground before the soldier when the musket was fired, and carried in the right hand when marching. Some of these were armed with a sword-blade, called a swine's feather, for keeping off the cavalry. This in the time of Charles II. was used as a separate weapon to fix on the muzzle of the gun, and became the origin of the bayonet, so called from being manufactured at Bayonne.*

The invention of gunpowder in the fourteenth century of course produced a great change in the mode of warfare. At the first invention of cannon the smaller sorts were used to eject darts and bolts, and the larger stone shot. Greek fire (the principal ingredient in which is supposed to have been naphtha) was also occasionally used, and was directed through long copper tubes, and gave so great a light as to illumi-

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., pp. 182, 183, 187, 189-191.

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nate the camps at night as fully as in broad day. These engines are supposed to have given rise to the romantic tales in the time of the Crusades, of knights fighting with fiery dragons, since the mouths of these weapons were shaped like the mouths of monsters, whence flames were emitted.*

The Anglo-Norman castle, as in the case of that at Falaise, which I have already described, occupied a considerable space of ground, sometimes several acres, and usually consisted of the outer or lower court, the inner or upper court, and the keep. The whole was defended by a lofty wall, strengthened at intervals by towers, and surrounded by a ditch or moat. Flights of steps led to the top of this rampart, which was protected by a parapet, embattled and pierced in different directions by loopholes or chinks, and œillets, through which missiles might be discharged without exposing the men.

The entrance through the outer wall into the lower court was defended by the barbacan, which in some cases was a regular outwork, covering the approach to the bridge across the ditch. The entrance archway, besides the massive gates, was crossed by the portcullis, which could be instantaneously let down in case of any emergency, and the crown of the arch was pierced with holes, through which melted lead and pitch and heavy missiles could be dropped upon the assailants below. A second rampart, similar to the first, separated the lower from the upper court, in which were placed the habitable buildings, including the keep, the relative position of which varied with the nature of the site. It generally stood upon a high artificial mound, and was the last retreat of the garrison.†

In France they built their castles with loftier towers and with still more massive walls than in England. In the general plan and disposition of the different parts of the building they were probably much alike. In an English castle, however, the lord always dwelt in the centre tower or keep, the upper part of which was occupied by the state apartments; while in

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., pp. 135-137.

† Pict. Hist. Eng. vol. i., pp. 662, 625.

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a French castle the keep, or, as they called it, the donjon tower, was the habitation of the four principal officers, and the lord or castellain had a separate house in the outer ballium, which in an English castle was the place appropriated for the barracks and stables.*

There are but few remains of the domestic buildings of this period in this country, but a sufficient number exist to prove that even those of the greatest extent and solidity were of a very different character from the castles. We read that Edward the Confessor had a hunting seat, and Harold a country house.† It has been supposed that the Saxons and Normans adopted the masonry which the Romans had introduced into England, altering it as architecture improved. The rude materials of the early English churches were described in a former paper, and the erection of buildings of reeds and trunks of trees seems to have continued in some parts of England to a late period.

In the time of Edward I. the English churches were, however, some of them of great splendour, and possessed several curious and peculiar features, now no longer existing. The church itself was a long narrow building, intended to represent a ship, in which the gospel is tossed on the sea of the world. An altar could not be consecrated without reliques, and therefore an aperture was left for their insertion, which was closed up by a stone called the seal of the altar, having the cement mixed with holy water. Fonts were anciently locked up in Lent, because Easter and Whitsuntide were considered the proper seasons for baptism.‡ The entrance into large churches was anciently at the west door, in order that men might see the altar and all the church before them. The other doors were but posterns.§ As regards the general materials for building used during this period, it may be observed that even in the days of Henry I.

* Markham's Hist. of France, p. 157.
† Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 625.
‡ Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. i., pp. 70, 72.
§ Selden's Table Talk.

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Pembroke Castle was built of twigs and turf. In 940 a King of Wales erected his White House, as it was called, of twisted branches with the bark stripped off and left white.*

The monasteries appear to have been numerous in this country during the Anglo-Norman era; and an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1070, containing an account of the pillage of that of Peterborough, affords us a notion of their wealth. The robbers, we are told,

"Went into the monastery and climbed up to the holy crucifix, took the crown from our Lord's head, which was all of the purest gold, and the footstool of real gold from under his feet. And they climbed up to the steeple, and brought down the table which was hidden there. It was all of gold and silver. They also seized two gold shrines and nine of silver, and they took so much gold and silver, and so much treasure in money, robes, and books, that no man can compute the amount; saying they did this because of their allegiance to the monastery."

Internal disorders occasionally arose in the monasteries themselves, as appears from the following entry in the Chronicle already quoted from :—

"A. 1083. This year a quarrel arose in Glastonbury between the abbot Thurston and his monks. It was first caused by the abbot's unwise conduct, in that he treated his monks ill in many respects; but the monks were lovingly minded towards him, and begged him to govern them in right and in kindness, and they would be faithful and obedient to him. But the abbot would none of this, and wrought them evil, and threatened worse. One day the abbot went into the chapter house, and spoke against the monks, and would have taught them amiss, and he sent for laymen, and they came in all armed upon the monks in the chapter house. Then the monks were greatly terrified, and knew not what to do, and some ran for refuge into the church, and locked the doors from within; but the others followed them, and would have dragged them forth when they durst not come out. Rueful things happened there on that day, for the French broke into the choir and threw darts towards the altar where the monks were collected, and

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 94.

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some of their servants went upon the upper floor and shot down arrows towards the chancel. They shot without ceasing, and slew some of the monks, and wounded many."

One entry in the Chronicle respecting another monastery records that :—

"All the chief men and the monks drove the abbot Henry out of the monastery; and well they might, for in five and twenty years they had never known a good day. All his great craftiness failed him here, and it now behoved him to creep into any corner."

The Normans brought into England the custom of using seals, bearing the impress of a knight on horseback, instead of the Anglo-Saxon custom of signing a deed, either by subscription of name, or by the figure of the cross for such as could not write, the name having been inserted beforehand.*

The finest and most interesting specimen now in existence of Norman art or manufacture of any kind, is the famous Bayeux tapestry, still preserved in the town hall of Bayeux, in Normandy, and which is shown to all visitors. It is a band of linen over 230 feet long by nearly 20 inches broad, upon which a number of designs have been worked by the needle in worsteds of eight different colours. There are 72 compartments or scenes, in which figure 623 persons, 202 horses and mules, 55 dogs, 505 various other animals, 37 buildings, 41 ships and boats, and 49 trees, making a total of 1,512 objects. The historical portion of the tapestry is for the most part confined to a width of $13\frac{1}{8}$ inches, above and below which run two borders, containing lions, birds, camels, dragons, sphinxes, scenes of husbandry, and of the chase.†

This tapestry represents all the events relating to the death of Edward the Confessor and the conquest of England by William of Normandy, and is said to have been the work of Matilda, the wife of William. There is no doubt that it was done at the period of the Conquest, though probably the fair ladies of the court had a large share in it as well as the queen.

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 110.

† The Bayeux Tapestry; with Historic Notes, by F. N. Fowke, Arundel Society, London, 1875.

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The figures are quaint and stiff, but spirited, and there is really much expression in the attitudes, though none in the countenances. The limbs are, however, well drawn, and the figures are tolerably correct, as are also the horses. The colouring is also very fairly managed. Considering their age, their state of preservation is really wonderful.

As regards the state of learning in general at the time of the Conquest, Domesday Book, which was made by order of William the Conqueror, shows that in the year 1086 there were only 243 inhabitants in Oxford, and in 1141 King Stephen reduced to ashes all that remained of that city. In 1214 it had, however, so revived as to possess about 4,000. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been established long before this, though they were successively burned and plundered by the Danes and Normans, and it was not until the thirteenth century that education and literature were established in England with any considerable degree of security or perfection. Nevertheless almost every cathedral, convent, and abbey was a school, in which those who were to be monks were particularly instructed in the arts of writing and illuminating manuscripts. There were also academies instituted in the different cities and great towns.* The Jews had, besides, schools of their own in London, York, Lincoln, and several other cities. The University of Paris seems, however, to have been the favourite seminary of the Anglo-Normans.† The English universities were afterwards enlarged by the munificence of certain individuals, who founded colleges and halls, with endowments annexed to them. At one period there used to be continual and fierce disputes between the students and the townsmen, or, as we should now term it, between gown and town, on whom they before depended not only for their lodgings, but actually for places in which to deliver their lectures.‡

A body of students, who were discontented with their own university, formed a new one at Northampton, and two were

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., pp. 107, 108.
† *Ibid.*, pp 108, 109. ‡ *Ibid.*, 120.

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established in London.* The Inns of Court and Chancery for the study of the law were also founded in London at this time, and to each of these inns were attached academies, in which the students might be instructed in literature and art. Such establishments were called the lawyers' universities, in which the noble youth of the kingdom were often educated for courtiers and statesmen.† These inns of court are still existing, and are called Lincoln's Inn, the Middle and Inner Temple, and Gray's Inn; and there are the Inns of Chancery, called Lyon's Inn, Staples Inn, Clement's Inn, and some others.

Learning does not appear to have made very rapid progress in this country, as church preferments were often bestowed on those who were hardly able to read, and the best scholars wandered about the country as mendicants or beggars, with certificates from their chancellors, but were not always very courteously treated during their travels. The civil war much retarded the progress of education, and those who were desirous of study went to the foreign schools of Germany, France, Padua, Lombardy, Spain, Athens, and Rome.‡

William the Conqueror, when he had obtained firm possession of the throne of England, tried very hard to make all the people of this country talk French instead of English, but this he soon found was more than he was able to accomplish. The nation at large could never be induced to adopt the French tongue, and as the English were far more numerous than the Normans, his orders were made in vain. He desired, however, not only that French should be taught in all the schools, but that the pleadings in all law proceedings, and also the laws themselves, should be made in the French language. The consequence of all this was in a short time as you may well imagine, that there became no settled speech in the nation, but a sort of jargon, neither good English nor good French, but something very bad indeed, compounded of both, though in reality neither, very much like perhaps what

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 121.

† *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 142, 147.

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English people, when they first go abroad, speak in France and call it French. Public speakers, at least those of them who wished to be understood (which I am inclined to think is by no means always the case with public speakers), were sometimes obliged to deliver the same discourse three times over to the same audience, once in English, once in French, and once in Latin. The audience were as much to be pitied, or more so, than the speaker. The Pope's Bull was written in bad Latin, and if nobody understood what it was all about, probably the loss was not very great.* The court and higher classes, to their discredit, quite neglected their native English language, and all spoke, or tried to speak, the more fashionable French tongue.

After the conquest, the mode of writing followed in this country soon altered considerably from the ancient Saxon characters, so that scarcely any resemblance of them remained. The Norman letters were resorted to in all public instruments. The use of the written character called the old English, or black-letter, commenced about the middle of the fourteenth century.†

One of the principal acts of William the Conqueror after he had firmly established his dominion in this country, and which had an extensive influence in the social condition of the people, was to effect a survey of the whole land, the result of which was entered in a book called "Doomsday Book," which is still in existence. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records this proceeding in the following terms:—

"A. 1085. The king had a great consultation with his witan concerning this land, how it was held, and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men all over England into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the king possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., pp. 123, 124.
† *Ibid.*, p. 125.

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to his archbishops, to his bishops, his abbots, and his earls; and that I may be brief, what property every inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide, nor a rood of land, nor—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do—was there an ox or a cow or a pig passed by, and that was not set down in the accounts; and then all these writings were brought to him."

The same Chronicle records, in reference to the king's visit to the Isle of Wight, on his way to Normandy during the following year, that—

The king "according to his custom, extorted immense sums from his subjects, upon every pretext he could find, whether just or otherwise. Then he went over to Normandy."

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1087 contains the subjoined account of his Majesty's extortions.

"There was little righteousness in this land amongst any excepting the monks, who fared well. The king and chief men loved much and overmuch to amass gold and silver, and cared not how sinfully it was gotten, so that it came into their hands. The king sold out his land as dear as dearest he might, and then some other men came and bid more than the first had given, and the king granted them to him who offered the largest sum. Then came a third and bid yet more, and the king made over the lands to him who offered most of all; and he cared not how iniquitously his sheriffs extorted money from the miserable people, nor how many unlawful things they did. And the more men spoke of rightful laws, the more lawlessly did they act. They raised oppressive taxes, and so many were their unjust deeds, it were hard to number them."

Reference to the Forest Laws made by William the Conqueror is contained in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the same year, 1087:—

"The king made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares that they should go free. The rich complained, and the poor

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murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked nought of them. They must will all that the king willed if they would live, or would keep their lands, or would hold their possessions, or would be maintained in their rights."

One regulation made by William the Conqueror, which was thought very hard and oppressive, was an order forbidding the people from fattening their swine on the acorns and beech nuts in the different forests, for fear that the game and beasts of chase might be disturbed by persons looking after their cattle.*

The Chronicle, however, does not fail to do the tyrant justice as regards the general laws for the good government of the kingdom which he enacted. It states,—

"Amongst other good things, the good order that William established is not to be forgotten. It was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him."

An entry in the same Chronicle during the reign of Henry I. records as follows :—

"A. 1124. The same year, after St. Andrew's Day, and before Christmas, Ralph Bassett and the king's thanes held a witenagemot at Huncothoe, in Leicestershire, and they hanged more thieves than had ever before been executed within so short a time, being in all four-and-forty men; and they deprived six men of their eyes and certain other members."

And *Sir Richard Baker*, in his "Chronicle," records that Henry I. "commanded the robbers upon the highway to be hanged without redemption; of whom a famous one at that time was one Dunne, and of him the place where he most used, by reason of the great woods thereabouts, is to this day called Dunstable, where the king built the borough as it now standeth. Counterfeiters of money he punished with putting out their eyes—a punishment both less than death and greater."

The same authority informs us that—

"Stealing of cattle, which before was but pecuniary, Henry III.

* Companion to Charnwood Forest, p. 7.

† The Raigne of King Henry the First, p. 55.

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made capital: and the first that suffered for the same was one of Dunstable, who having stolen twelve oxen from the inhabitants of Colne, and being pursued to Redbarne, was by a bailiff of St. Alban's, according to the king's proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may seem strange that in these times so much blood should be shed in the field, and none upon the scaffold."*

The Anglo-Normans resorted to nearly the same punishments for offences as did the Anglo-Saxons; the most common being the loss of a limb, which, however, might be redeemed by a fine. Hanging was sometimes resorted to. For minor offences the tumbrel and pillory were used; and the common places of execution appear to have been Smithfield and the Elms at St. Thomas à Watering's on the Kent Road.† The pillory seems, however, to have been mainly resorted to as the means of punishing ordinary offenders especially in cases of fraud. Putting out the eyes is occasionally mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as one of the punishments inflicted during the reign of William the Conqueror.

The occurrence of famines is several times referred to in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of this period, when, in consequence of the rude state of agriculture, the result must have been much more serious than it could be in our day. Thus we are told that in the year 1116, "the winter being severe and long, it was a very heavy time for the cattle and all things. . . This was a very calamitous year, the crops being spoiled by the heavy rains which came on just before August, and lasted till Candlemas. Meat also was so scarce this year, that none was to be heard of in all this land, or in Wales."

"A. 1124. This year there was most unseasonable weather, which injured the corn and all fruits in England, so that between Christmas and Candlemas an acre's seed of wheat that is, two seedlings, sold for six shillings, and one of barley, that is three seedlings, for six shillings, and one acre's seed of oats, being four seedlings, for four shillings. It was thus because corn was scarce, and the penny

* The Raigne of King Henry the Third, p. 122.

† Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 25.

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was so bad that the men who had a pound at the market could hardly for any thing pass twelve of these pennies."

The country appears to have been also desolated by tempests during the years 1117 and 1118, as the same Chronicle records:—

"This year [1117] also there was a violent storm of thunder and lightning, rain and hail on the night before the kalends of December. . . . This was a very bad year for the corn, through the rains which ceased scarcely at all.

"1118. This year, one daie in Epiphany week, there was dreadful lightning, which caused many deaths. . . . This year, also on St. Thomas's Day, there was so exceedingly high a wind that none who then lived remembered a greater, and this might be seen everywhere from the state of the houses, and of the trees."

From the records contained in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of this and former periods, and from the representation of the dwellings and the costume of those times, we may infer that the climate of this country must have been much milder than it now is, and that severe frosts and tempests were of much less common occurrence than they now are. A frost in May is recorded as an extraordinary event; and snow and frosts of long continuance even during the winter are mentioned as rare occurrences.

The occurrence of pestilence among cattle during the Anglo-Norman period is several times recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Thus, in the year 1037, we are told that "this was a very heavy year, and very disastrous and sorrowful; for there was a pestilence among the cattle; and the corn and fruits were checked; and the weather was worse than may easily be conceived." In the year 1111 it is recorded that "there was the greatest pestilence among the cattle ever remembered." In 1112 it mentions that the "severity of the winter occasioned much disease among the cattle."

And in 1131 we are told that "there was so great a pestilence among animals all over England, as had not been in the memory of man. It chiefly fell on cattle and on swine, so that in the town, where ten or twelve ploughs had been going,

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not one remained, and the man who had possessed two or three hundred swine had not one left him. After this the hens died; and flesh-meat became scarce, and cheese and butter. God mend the state of things, when such is His will!"

Earthquakes are also recorded at this period in the same Chronicle, and it would seem that these occurrences, as was also the case with certain appearances in the heavens, were supposed to be immediately connected with political and other events. Thus it is recorded, "A. 1060. This year there was a great earthquake on the translation of St. Martin, and King Henry died in France."

"A. 1089. This year the venerable father, and patron of monks, Archbishop Lanfranc, departed this life, but we trust he has entered into the kingdom of heaven. There was also a great earthquake throughout England on the third day before the ides of August."

"A. 1117. On the octave of St. John the Evangelist's Day there was a great earthquake in Lombardy, by which many monasteries, towers, and houses were thrown down, and the inhabitants suffered greatly. . . . . And Gilbert, abbot of Westminster, died on the 8th before the ides of December; and Farit, abbot of Abingdon, died on the 7th before the kalends of March."

"A. 1119. On Michaelmas Eve there was a great earthquake in some parts of this land; and it was felt most in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. The same year Pope Gelasius died on this side of the mountains, and he was buried at Cluny."

Eclipses of the moon appear to have been closely observed by our Anglo-Norman ancestors. The following entries on this subject are to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—

"A. 1106. One night, the Thursday before Easter, two moons appeared before day in the heavens, the one in the east, the other in the west, both full; and the same day was the 14th of the moon.

"A. 1107. Many said that they saw various tokens in the moon this year, and his light waxing and waning contrary to nature."

"A. 1110. On the fifth night of the month of May the moon

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appeared shining brightly in the evening, and afterward his light waned by little and little, and early in the night he was so wholly gone that neither light, nor circle, nor anything at all of him was to be seen, and thus it continued till near day, and then he appeared shining full and bright. He was a fortnight old the same day."

"A. 1121. This year the moon was eclipsed on the night before the nones of April, being the fourteenth day of the moon."

The occurrence of extraordinary tides is occasionally recorded.

"A. 1099. This year, on St. Martin's Day, there was so very high a tide, and the damage was so great in consequence, that men remembered not the like to have ever happened before, and the same day was the first of the new moon. And Osmond, Bishop of Salisbury, died during Advent."

"A. 1114. This year there was so great an ebb of the tide in one day as no man remembered before, so that men went through the Thames, both riding and walking, east of London Bridge."

Accounts of storms, shipwrecks, earthquakes, and of famines and droughts, which are common alike to all periods of history, are duly recorded in the Chronicle, but a large infusion of the marvellous is instilled into these narratives. Thus, we are told that in the eleventh year of Henry II., on the 26th of January, "was so great an earthquake in Ely, Nor folke, and Suffolke, that it overthrew them that stood upon their feet, and made the bells to ring in the steeples."*

And that on Christmas Day, in the twenty-fourth year of the same reign, "in the territory of Darlington, in the bishoprick of Durham, the earth lifted itself up in the manner of an high tower, and so remained immoveable from morning till evening, and then fell with so horrible a noyse that it frighted the inhabitants thereabouts ; and the earth swallowing it up, made there a deepe pit, which is seen at this day : for a testimony whereof Leyland saith he saw the pit there commonly called Hell-kettles."†

* Baker's Chronicle, Reign of Henry II., p. 79. † *Ibid.*

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Comets at this period excited both wonder and terror, and were generally regarded as prognostications of some great calamity.

"A. 1097. At Michaelmas, on the fourth before the nones of October, an uncommon star appeared, shining in the evening, and soon going down. The light which streamed from it seemed very long, shining towards the south-east, and it appeared after this manner nearly all the week. Many allowed that it was a comet."

"A. 1106. In the first week of Lent, on the evening of Friday, the fourteenth before the kalends of March, a strange star appeared. and it was seen awhile every evening for a long time afterwards. This star appeared in the south-west; it seemed small and dim, but the light that reamed from it was very bright, and like an exceedingly long beam shining to the north-east; and one evening it seemed as if a beam from over against the star darted directly into it. Some persons said that they observed more unknown stars at this time, but we do not write this as a certainty, because we saw them not ourselves."

"A. 1114. In the end of May, this year, a strange star, with a long light, was seen shining for many nights."

The occurrence of meteors, or falling stars, similar to what have been observed in our time, is thus recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1095 :—

"On the night of the feast of St. Ambrose, the second before the nones of April, there was seen all over the country a great multitude of stars falling from heaven, and during nearly the whole of the night; not one or two at a time, but so thickly that no man might number them."

Other prodigies, besides comets and eclipses, occasionally terrified the minds of the Anglo-Normans, and were generally regarded as calamitous omens, and were so recorded in the Chronicle referred to, which serves to afford us a vivid notion of the superstitions prevalent among the people at this period. Thus the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1098, after recording the deaths of five eminent persons, proceeds to state that "in the summer of this year a spring of blood burst out at Finchamstead in Berkshire, according to

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the declaration of many men of credit, who said they had seen it. . . . . Before Michaelmas Day the heaven appeared as it were on fire almost all the night."

"A. 1100. At Pentecost, blood was observed gushing from the earth at a certain town of Berkshire, even as many asserted who declared that they had seen it. And after this, on the morrow after Lammas Day, King William was shot with an arrow by his own man, as he was hunting, and he was carried to Westminster and buried there."

In Baker's Chronicle the following passage is recorded concerning the death of King William the Second :—

"At Finchampstead in Berkshire, neare unto Abington, a spring cast up liquor for the space of fifteen dayes, in substance and colour like to blood. The night before the king was killed, a certain monk dreamed that he saw the king gnaw the image of Christ crucified with his teeth; and that as he was about to bite away the legges of the same image, Christ with His feete spurned him down to the ground; and that as he lay on the earth there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoke."

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1104 records that on the Tuesday after the first day of Pentecost, "at midday there appeared four circles of a white colour round the sun, one under the other, as if they had been painted. All who saw it wondered, because they never remembered such before."

Eclipses of the sun are recorded, and were considered to be connected with calamitous events that happened.

"A. 1135. This year, at Lammas, King Henry went over sea; and on the second day, as he lay asleep in the ship, the day was darkened universally, and the sun became as it were a moon three nights old with the stars shining round it at midday. Men greatly marvelled, and great fear fell on them, and they said that some great event should follow thereafter,—and so it was, for the same year the king died in Normandy, on the day after the feast of St. Andrew."

"A. 1140. In Lent, the sun and the day were darkened about noon, when men eat, so that they lighted candles to eat by. This was on the 13th before the kalends of April, and the people

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were greatly astonished. After this, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, died."

The Chronicles furnish us with the following account of the burial of Henry I., which appears to have been the general mode of interment of persons of high rank at that period:—

"His bowels, braines, and eyes were buried at Roan, in Normandy, where he died: the rest of his body was stuffed with salt, wrapped in oxen hides, and brought over into England, and with honourable obsequies buried in the monastery of Reading, which himself had founded. His physitian that tooke out his braines, with the intolerable stinck soon after died."*

As regards the sports and amusements followed by the Anglo-Normans, hunting and hawking were in high estimation among them, and kings, ecclesiastics, and nobles pursued them with the greatest avidity and delight. Very severe laws, as mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle already quoted from, were enacted to preserve the royal game, and King Edward the Confessor received annually from his manor of Barton, near Gloucester, three thousand loaves of bread for the maintenance of his dogs. Some of the Norman sports, however, were of a more domestic and quiet character. Richard the First, while on his voyage to the Holy Land, used to play games of chess, and ten sorts of games with dice are mentioned by one author of the twelfth century.† In the Bayeux tapestry King Harold is represented on a journey with a hawk perched upon his wrist. After the Conquest, the common people in England were not allowed to keep hawks; to hunt with them was considered an amusement fit only for kings and nobles. Men of rank carried their falcons about with them not only on their journeys, but sometimes even took them into the field of battle. Stores of good hawks were also generally kept in the monasteries for the recreation of the monks. The ladies, too, were accustomed to follow hawking.‡

* Baker's Chronicle, Reign of Henry I., p. 60.

† Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 281.

‡ Pictorial History of England, vol. i., p. 648.

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The sports of the common people at this time were bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and horse-racing, which were particularly practised in London in the twelfth century; as well as sports on the Thames, of running at mark, or tilting, in boats with wooden spears. Skating and drawing each other along upon the ice were also practised in the winter season upon the frozen fields near London.*

The earliest notice of a theatrical entertainment in England belongs to the year 1100, when Geoffrey, abbot of St. Alban's, was author of a play of the Life of St. Catherine. The religious drama appears to have been first devised at Rome by St. Jerome, and to have consisted of portions from the Scriptures as substitutes for the ancient classical tragedies. They received the name of mysteries, from the sacred character of their subject, and are supposed to have been introduced into England by the pilgrims who travelled to the Holy Land. Another kind, which exhibited the history of a saint, were called miracles, and were commonly written and acted by ecclesiastics, in dresses belonging to the church. They were generally performed in or about sacred edifices, always in the afternoon, and were especially attended by females.†

There were also what were termed moralities, or serious reflections on human life in verse, which we are told, and which we can readily believe, were extremely dull, and were but seldom understood. Minstrels and jongleurs (as they were called) were also retained by the great; and at a grand wedding of a gay young prince in France, in the year 1237, some of them danced on ropes, and others rode on oxen dressed in scarlet, sounding their horns at the approach of every dish. In 1332 a company of men was ordered to be whipped through London, for spreading slanderous reports in alehouses. These are supposed to have been mummers, a species of dramatic performers, often of the lowest and most scurrilous kind, who always went about masked, were lawless and

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 282.

† *Ibid.*

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profligate, and were at length proscribed by a law made in the year 1511.*

The tournament was in full fashion during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it was patronized by the sovereigns as an important military spectacle, though a very expensive one, and also not without danger to life and limb. One historian censures it on account of its danger to the virtue and reputation of the fair ladies who participated in it. The chase and other field sports still continued to engage the higher ranks of society. In 1363 a proclamation from King Edward II. recommended the people to apply themselves to archery instead of "spending their time in throwing stones, wood, or iron; in playing at hand-ball, foot-ball, or club-ball; in bull-baiting and cock-fighting, or in more useless and dishonest games."†

The wake was a festival held in honour of the Church's patron saint, beginning on the eve before the holiday, and was originally celebrated by the people coming to church with lighted tapers, and performing their devotions, *waking* the whole night. Singing, dancing, and playing on harps and pipes, also accompanied them.‡

The love of seeing strange out-of-the-way sights is very ancient in this country.§ Matthew Paris tells us of a monk who fell into a pit in running to see a whale; and the old English Chronicles are particular in stating that whenever a monstrous birth or strange fish appeared, it was as a matter of course exhibited to the king. In the fifteenth century a dwarf Turk, forty years old, was thought worthy of being shown to King Edward IV., when he told that "he had

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 294.

† *Ibid.*, p. 293.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

§ "A strange fish! Were I in England now as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver. Here would this monster make a man,—any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."—*Tempest*, act ii., scene 2.

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hadde chyldren as hyghe and as lykely as the kynge hymselfe." *

The occurrence of prodigies, and appearance of strange unnatural sights, are of very frequent record in the chronicles of these times, and affords a lively notion of the credulity of the multitude in this period of ignorance.

In the year 1171 "there was seen at St. Osythes, in Essex, a dragon of marvellous bigness, which by moving burned houses, and the whole city of Canterbury, was the same yeare almost burnt." † Six years after this we are told that "a storme of blood rained in the Isle of Wight two houres together."‡

"In the year 1180, near unto Orford, in Suffolk, certaine fishers took in their nets a fish having the shape of a man in all points, which fish was kept by Bartholomew de Granville in the castle of Orford six moneths or more. He spake not a word. All manner of meates he did gladly eate, but not greedily,—raw fish when he had pressed out the juyce. Oftentimes he was brought to church, but he never showed any sign of adoration. At length, being not well looked to, he stole to the sea, and never was seene after." §

It is also recorded that one year during the reign of King John, "fishes of strange shape were taken in England, armed with tabret and shields, and were like unto armed knightes, saving that they were greater in proportion. About Maidestone, in Kent, a certaine monster was found stricken with the lightning, which monster had an head like an ape, a belly like a man, and all other parts farre differing from any other creature." ‖ And that in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Henry III. "were seene five suns at one time together, after which followed so great a dearth that people were constrained to eate horse-flesh and barkes of trees; and in London 20,000 were starved for want of foode. And though it may seem no

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 295.
† Baker's Chronicle, Reign of Henry II., p. 79.
‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*, p. 80.
‖ *Ibid.*, Reign of John, p. 103.

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fit place to tell it, yet here or nowhere it must be told, that in this king's time there was sent by the king of France the first elephant that ever was seen in England."*

It is a curious and interesting subject of remark, that most of the games of children in this country have remained unchanged for many ages back, and that they may in general be traced to a classical period for their origin.

In comparison with the Saxons, and especially with the Danes, the Normans were temperate and delicate in their meals when they first invaded England; but I am sorry to be obliged to record that they soon contracted some very bad habits in this respect, when they had become acquainted with our countrymen; and in a short time they not only equalled, but even exceeded them in the excesses in which they indulged. An author of those times blames the brave barons, when going to war, for having their horses laden with wine instead of weapons, luncheons instead of lances, spits instead of spears, and bottles instead of battle-axes. But the Anglo-Saxon custom of four meals a day was altered to two, and the prime minister of Henry I., who must have been very abstemiously disposed, used his endeavours to reduce them to one meal. Dinner, we are told, was at one time at three o'clock in the morning, and the supper at five in the afternoon. Occasionally the dishes were of great variety. William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, is said to have had at his table all the sorts of beasts that roam on the land, of fishes that swim in the water, and of birds that fly in the air. There were also many dishes of which the composition is now unknown. The most esteemed kind of bread was a sort of ginger bread, called peppered bread; but wastel bread and simnel cakes were part of the allowance of the king of Scotland when in England, whence it is concluded that they were made of the finest meal. The wine of this period is supposed to have been principally brought from France; though some sorts, like Rhenish, were also made in England. There were also in use, several sorts of other liquors, composed of honey,

* Baker's Chronicle, Reign of Henry III., p. 123.

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spices, or the juice of mulberries. Cider, perry, and ale were drunk, moreover, at this time. Knives were only used at the greatest tables, and forks were not introduced into England until about the year 1614. In the household of the famous Guy, Earl of Warwick, six oxen were eaten for breakfast. The general hour of breakfast about this time with the nobility was seven. Dinner was served at nine or ten in the morning, and commonly lasted three hours. Supper followed at four, and collations at nine. A cook of Croyland Abbey is recorded with honour in the annals of that foundation, for having, at his own charge, provided the monks with almond milk on fish days.*

So greatly had the passion for feasting increased in England in the fourteenth century, that a severe law was made by Edward III. to restrain persons of certain ranks to banquets proportionable to their degree. Edward himself, however, by no means always set an example of moderation in this respect, and on the marriage of his son he gave an entertainment, at which there were thirty courses and the fragments of the table fed 1,000 persons.

The Anglo-Norman period of our history is said to have been characterized, on the whole, by a kind of gross hospitality and indiscriminate charity, which to a great extent made the poor English, whom their rules oppressed, in many instances overlook or think less of the tyranny by which they were borne down. In general, the great men of this time were composed of the most opposite qualities. They were very acute and penetrating, but grossly ignorant and easily imposed upon. They were very brave, but very cruel, very effeminate in their dress and manners, yet capable of undergoing the greatest fatigues. It is due, however, to them to state that they rendered all due respect, even to adoration, to the fair ladies of that rude age.†

The hall belonging to the mansion was the place where the great lord used to eat, where he saw all his servants and

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii., pp. 297, 298, 299.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 286.

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tenants about him. He eat not in private except in time of sickness. When once he became a thing cooped up, says Selden, all his greatness was spoiled; nay, the king himself used to eat in the hall, and his lords sat with him, and then he understood men.*

At this period of our history there were no servants' halls to great houses. The whole family in a castle or mansion dined together in the great hall. A large salt-cellar was placed in the middle of the table to make a division between the upper end, where the lord sat with his guests, and that part which was occupied by the menial servants.†

Probably no conquest of any country ever produced more important domestic and social changes than those which were occasioned by that of William the Norman over this nation. The oppressions and calamities that immediately followed were no doubt grievous, but the eventual benefit that resulted from them far more than compensated for these evils. Civilization was immensely advanced by the conquest; and the domestic condition of this country was, in the end, greatly improved. The power of the nation was also largely increased, the best proof of which is that it has never since been conquered. In the case, indeed, both of individuals and of nations, how often does it happen that events, which were at the time regarded as dire calamities, prove in the issue to be the occasion of prosperity, both great and permanent!

A curious and important question—interesting alike to the ethnologist, the historian, and the statesman—might be raised as to the general effect upon different nations, and the precise extent of the influence exercised as to their general character, their pursuits, and their career in the course of civilization, which has been produced by the several and successive invasions that they have experienced, the consequent infusion of new blood, and the introduction of new ideas, new customs, new codes of laws, and new military and commercial systems.

* Selden's "Table Talk."

† Markham's History of France, p. 73.

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As to the general influence of invasions upon a conquered country, much must of course depend on the character of the invaders, especially on their being of a race and endowments superior to those of the invaded, and which may generally be presumed from the success of their invasion.

Islands like ours are less liable to be extensively affected by invasion than nations which form a portion of the Continent, where the invaders march in by wholesale instead of coming in small bands by means of boats. France, Germany, Italy, and most of the nations on the Continent have been subjected to invasion, and have, I believe, each been more influenced and more changed by them than has this country. As regards more especially the subsequent peopling of the land, women as well as men are much more easily introduced into a continental country than into one which is insular, by means of which the blood of the nation would become more extensively changed, both parents being of the stock of the invaders.

The best proof that the mass of the nation in this country was unchanged by the Norman conquest as regards its blood, is that the old national language was in the main retained, and the Norman tongue was but little generally, and not at all permanently adopted, although every effort was made by the conquering party to compel its use. It was made imperative in law proceedings, and became the language of the court. But the mass of the population never adopted it, although a few French terms crept into our language of which the traces remain. In time even the upper ranks abandoned it. We may further infer from all this that it was in the upper ranks chiefly that new blood was infused, and that the middle and lower ranks experienced but little change.

Nevertheless, be all this as it may, it cannot be doubted that the Norman conquest was productive of vast influences in various ways, some of which have not ceased to be felt even at the present remote period; new laws and customs, many of them not yet obsolete, were introduced; the martial power of the kingdom was much increased, its commerce was

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extended, and its progress in civilization received a considerable impetus. The character of the people, however, was not so much changed as modified and influenced in some particular respects. The invaders who settled here, and who exercised considerable authority over the people, constituted but a very small body as compared with the entire population of the country. Notwithstanding, therefore, the successive invasions of this nation by the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, the race is in all probability substantially the same as it was when Cæsar landed here. The race, like the language, is of a mixed character—and great authorities tell us that pure races never effect any great achievements, —but it is still, after all, the race of Britons by which this island continues to be peopled.*

* Thompson's Illust. Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 296. Diagrams illustrative of this and his preceding papers have been prepared by Dr. Harris, and are deposited by him in the Society's Library.—ED.

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EARLY BILLS OF MORTALITY.

By CORNELIUS WALFORD, F.I.A., F.S.S., Barrister-at-Law,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

I AM not sure that I can say much respecting the Early Bills of Mortality, issued in this and other countries, which may be regarded as entirely new. I shall endeavour that what I do say shall be entirely true; or where any doubt exists, I will endeavour to make the fact of its existence plain.

I may at once say that my present purpose is not so much to place before you the results of an exhaustive inquiry, as to furnish the outlines of one which I believe to be by no means exhausted, but which is capable of yielding to future students much that will repay their labours. My hope is to interest others in the pursuit, and in a certain degree to point out the way, and indicate the nature of the results to be gleaned.

To commence with a definition, Bills of Mortality are abstracts from Parish Registers, either printed or written, showing, as their name imports, the numbers that have died in any parish or place during certain periods of time, as in each week, month, or year, and accordingly are frequently designated weekly, monthly, or yearly bills. Also recording (sometimes) the *causes of* (but very rarely the *ages at*) death; while some of them, more generally of a later date, include the number of baptisms during a like period; and yet later the number of marriages in the same population. By these means important factors in relation to the vital statistics of

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nations are obtained, capable of being made to yield very valuable scientific results, as we shall hereafter see.

I do not know to what period of the world's history we must go back for the origin of Bills of Mortality. That ancient Rome had its bills in the shape of *Rationes Libitinæ*, which were kept in the Temple of Libitina, the goddess of funerals, has been made abundantly clear. Her officers were the Libitinarii, *our* undertakers. Her temple—in which all the business connected with the last rites was transacted—served the purpose of a registration office. At this temple was kept an account (*ratio ephemeris*) of those who died; and a small sum was paid for the registration of their names.*

Arrangement of Subject.

It will be convenient at this point to determine the arrangement of my facts. The order which seems most suited to the subject appears to be the following:—

1. Bills of Mortality of the city of London, and the circumstances which gave rise to them.

2. Bills issued in provincial cities, including the capitals of Scotland and Ireland. Concerning these we may fairly direct attention to *York* and to *Oxford*, each of which was an early though temporary seat of the imperial Government: but to neither of which can I trace any early Bill of Mortality.

3. Bills of Mortality of the citiesof continental Europe—for herein it may be possible to trace a continuation of the practice of ancient Rome; but this at present I have failed to accomplish.

4. General conclusions.

I shall treat the subject chronologically, and must avail myself more or less copiously of materials which I drew together a few years since for an article on Bills of Mortality generally in the *Insurance Cyclopædia*.

* *Vide* Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, where furtner particulars will be found.

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I give the *literature* of the subject as far as I am acquainted with it. This I think to be of the first importance.

London Bills of Mortality.

1562.—It is generally stated by writers upon the subject that the first bill for the city of London was published at the close of 1592; but we now know that there was one at least thirty years earlier, or at the date of this paragraph. Our authority is Maitland, the painstaking author of the *History of London*, wherein he says :—

"As neither the parish clerks' account nor that pub. by Mr. Graunt take any notice of the first B. of mort. pub. in this city for the year 1562, nor of those for the years 1593 and 1603, I shall supply these defects from the great and valuable library of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart., which, by the vast number of its books and generosity of its owner, is rendered as useful as any of the publick libraries within the city or suburbs of Lond. In the year 1562 a grievous pestilence raged in this city; therefore, in order to know the increase and decrease of the same, 'twas judg'd necessary to take an account of the number of burials, which being the first of the kind that was ever taken in Lond., it commenced on the 1st Jan., 1562, and ended the last of Dec., whereby it appears that the total number buried within the city and suburbs in that year amounted to 23,630, whereof of the plague, 20,136."*

Here is an extract from the bill so referred to, as given in *Stow's Survey*:—

Buried in *London*, and the places near adjoining, from the 1st of Jan. 1562, to the 1st of Jan. 1563, in the whole number	23 630
Whereof of the plague	20,136
The true number of all that were buried within the Citie and Liberties	20,414
The true number of all that were buried in places near adjoining to the Citie and without the Liberties ..	3,216

Then follows the numbers who died in each parish, making up the above totals.

* I have used certain abbreviations in this paper, in view of saving space. I think they are such as will be readily understood.

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1582.—There is now in good preservation in the hall of the parish clerks, in Wood Street, City, the bill for this year as follows:—

"The number of those that hath dyed in the Citie of London, and the liberties of the same, from the 28 of December, 1581 vnto the 27th of December 1582, with the Christenings; and also the number of all those have dyed of the plague of euery parish particularly.—Reuela. 14 chap. Blessed are the deade that die in the Lorde, even so sayth the Spirite, for they rest from their labours.

There is deade this yeere, that is to say, fro. the 28 of December 1581 unto the 27 of December 1582 within the citie and the liberties of the same	vi. MD. cccc. xxx
Of the plague	iii. M.lxxv.
Christened	iii. MDiii
Parishes clear of the plague	v.
Out-parishes	ccccxxx.
Of the plague	ccxxxix

Here followeth the parishes with their numbers, that hath been buried of the plague. [Making up the above totals.]"

1592.—It has been frequently asserted that the London bills of mortality owe their origin to the periodical visitations of the *plague*. I think this may be regarded as true; but whether in doing this we simply followed any Continental city I cannot yet determine. There was plague in London—not so severe as in some other parts of Europe—in 1582. But at the date we have now reached (1592) we have the direct testimony of the *Parish Clerk's Register* to the effect that the plague again appearing in London, the "Fraternity of St. Nicholas"—formerly a City guild,* and which afterwards assumed the designation of the "Company of Parish Clerks" (see 1611,) instituted and provided a weekly account of the burials, which at the end of the year—December 21, 1592, to December 21, 1593—were announced as amounting to 17,844; "whereof died of the plague 10,662; christened this year 4,021; parishes clear of the plague none."

* Incorporated as early as 1253 by Charter 17 Hen. III.

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The following is a copy of a bill, given from March to December of the same year [1592] by the author of the *Four Great Plagues*, pub. in 1665 :—

		Deaths.	Plague.
March	17	230	3
	24	251	31
	31	291	29
April	7	307	27
	14	203	
	21	290	37
	28	310	41
May	5	250	29
	12	339	38
	19	300	42
	26	450	58
June	2	410	62
	9	441	81
	16	399	99
	23	410	108
	30	850	118
July	7	1440	927
	14	1510	893
	21	1491	671
	28	1507	852
Aug.	4	1503	983
	11	1550	797
	18	1532	651
	25	1508	449
Sept.	1	1490	507
	8	1210	563
	15	621	455
	22	629	349
	29	450	330
Oct.	6	408	327
	13	422	323
	20	330	308
	27	320	302
Nov.	3	310	301
	10	309	209
	17	310	107
	24	321	93
Dec.	1	349	94
	8	331	66
	15	329	71
	22	386	39

The total of all the burials of the time above said 25,886
Whereof of the plague 11,503

This is the bill generally, but, as we have shown, erroneously spoken of as the "first London bill of mortality."

1594.—It was during this year that the bills of mortality were first issued to the public. The charge for them was 4s. per annum. It is said to have been part of the good government of Queen Elizabeth that a system of registration of deaths, and of their causes, should be introduced into the parishes of England.* But with respect to the publication

* Dr. Farr, of the English Registrar-General's office, says, "Abstracts burials, baptisms, and marriages were directed to be compiled in each parish ; and persons were appointed to view the bodies of all that died before they were suffered to be buried, and to certify of what probable disease each individual died, in statements of which it was the duty of the minister to make a weekly return."

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of the London bills of mortality I am of opinion that its almost sole purpose was that of frightening persons away from the metropolis. The Queen and her Government had a great dread of the inordinate growth of the city, and as a means to this end various proclamations were issued against the building of houses. These I shall refer to in a future paper.

1595.—The plague still continuing, weekly bills were issued to 18th December this year, when the practice was again abandoned.

1598.—Stow, in his Survey, first published this year, says,—

"To know how the City stands in regard of the health and sickness of the inhabitants, the weekly bills of mortality were appointed long ago, carefully and wisely. That so if any infectious disease were found to reign, means might be used for the stopping it, and preventing the deaths of innumerable citizens. Hereby also are many other advantages gained, as to know the populousness of the City, nay, of the whole kingdom, *as some ingenious men that have made observations on these bills have discovered.*"

It may be noted here that these early bills included but 109 parishes, which parishes were all alphabetically arranged, and no distinction was made between the out-parishes and those within the walls. At a later date (1665) this was rectified.

1603.—The plague reappeared this year, and the bills of mortality were resumed. By the bill commencing 17th December, 1602, and ending December, 1603, the total deaths registered were 42,042, whereof of the plague 36,269. Another bill for the same year gives the figures respectively as 37,294 and 30,561; but we believe this only extended from March to December.

The entire area included in the bills up to this date was 1,853 acres. Between 1604 and 1606 the area was much extended, and then included 97 parishes within the walls, 16 parishes without the walls, and 6 contiguous out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey. Several of the original bills for this period are preserved in the library of the Corporation of London at the Guildhall.

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The bills were from this period continued uninterruptedly, and were therefore no longer dependent upon plague visitations. We are told by historians of the period that they were not only commonly examined as matters of curiosity but were frequently consulted by the heads of families anxious to ascertain the healthiness of the city before repairing to it, or selecting it as a place of abode. Thus Lord Salisbury, writing to Prince Henry, the son of James I., says, "Be wary of Londoners, for there died here 123 last week."

The bills of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas were at this period dedicated to the "Queen's Most Excellent Majesty and the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor;" and the Lord Mayor every week transmitted a copy to the Court.

1606.—Here is a copy of the bill for this year, which seems more complete than any which had preceded it. It is probable that this was the first of the "Yearly Bill" series published after the weekly bill had been introduced.

The whole Year's Collection of all the Burials and Christenings as well within the Cittie of Lond. *and the Liberties thereof, and the* Pesthouse: *As also in the* 9 *Out-Parishes, adjoyning to the Citie, and out of the Freedom, from* Thursday *the Nineteenth of* December Anno Domini 1605, *to* Thursday, *the Five-and-Twentieth of* December Anno Domini, 1606, *according to the report made to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, by the Co. of the Parish Clerks of* Lond.

Buried this yeare in the four score and sixteene parishes of *Lond.* within the walls	2643
Whereof of the plague	72
Buried this yeare in the sixteene parishes of *Lond.* within the Liberties and without the walls, as also in the *Pesthouse* adjoyning to Lond. ...	3998
Whereof of the plague	7810
The whole summe of all the burials in *Lond.* and the Liberties thereof, together with the *Pesthouse*, this year is	6641
Whereof of the plague	1750
Buried this year in the nine out-parishes in *Middlesex* and *Surrey* ...	1279
Whereof of the plague	344
The total of all the burials in the places aforesaid is	7920
Whereof of the plague	2124
Christened in the foresaid places this year	6614
Parishes that haue been cleare this year	17
Parishes that haue been infected this year	104

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It seems necessary to warn readers of these early bills not to interpret the term 'christened' as synonymous with 'born.' The former merely represented such a proportion of births as were registered in connection with the rites of the Established Church. This observation appears necessary, lest it might be supposed that, as the number specified in the bills as buried exceeded the number christened, the city was gradually being depopulated—an inference which misled several authors at a subsequent period.—*Farren.* The registered christenings were deficient because (1) theological opinions were entertained by some unfavourable to the baptismal rite; (2) there were occasionally religious scruples on the part of the Christian ministers regarding the worthiness of parents to have their children baptized; and (3), what probably formed the chief difficulty, *there was a small fee for registering.—Graunt.*

1611.—The Fraternity of St. Nicholas procured a charter from James I., incorporating them as the "Company of Parish Clerks," and they were formally entrusted with the future regulation and issue of the London bills, which, as we have seen, they had superintended since 1592 (see 1625).

1624.—The following is a copy of the bill issued at the close of 1624, but headed "1623" and "1624," probably from a part of the former year being included in it:—

The General Bill for the whole year of all the *Burials* and *Christenings*, as well within the City of Lond., and the Liberties thereof, as in the nine out-parishes adjoyning to the City, with the *Pesthouse* belonging to the same: from Thursday the 18th of Dec., 1623, to Thursday the 16th Dec., 1624, according to the report made to the King's Most Excellent Majesty by the Co. of Parish Clerks of Lond.

Buried this year in the fourscore and seventeen parishes of Lond. within the walls	3386
Whereof of the *plague*	1
Buried this year in the sixteen parishes of Lond. and the *Pesthouse*, being within the Liberties and without the walls	5934
Whereof of the *plague*	5
The whole sum of all the burials in Lond. and the Liberties thereof in this year	9310
Whereof of the *plague*	6
Buried of the *plague*, without the Liberties in *Middlesex* and *Surrey*, this whole year	0

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Christened in Lond. and the Liberties thereof this year	6368
Buried this year in the nine out-parishes adjoyning to Lond. and out of the Freedom	2900
Whereof of the *plague*	5
The total of all the burials in the places aforesaid is	12,210
Whereof of the *plague*	11
Christened in all the aforesaid places this year	8299
Parishes clear of the *plague*	116
Parishes that have been infected this year	6

1625.—This being a "plague year," every parish was particularized in this Bill, as had been the case in 1562. This was called a "Great Bill," and was in the following form:—

A General Bill of the Number of burials, which have been buried of all Diseases, and also of the Plague, in every Parish within the City of Lond. and the Liberties thereof; as also in the nine out-parishes adjoyning the said City, with the Pesthouse belonging to the same, from Thursday the 16th day of Dec., 1624, to Thursday the 15th day of Dec., 1625, according to the report made to the King's Most Excellent Majesty by the Co. of Parish Clerks of Lond.

	Bur.	Plag.		Bur.	Plag.
Albanes in Woodstreet ...	188	78	Bennets-Shearhog ...	24	8
Alhallows, Barking ...	397	263	Botolphs Billings-gate ...	99	66
Alhallows, Breadstreet ...	34	14	Christs-Church Parish ...	611	371
Alhallows the Great ...	442	302	Christophers Parish ...	48	28
Alhallows Hony-lane ...	18	8	Clements by Eastcheap ...	87	72
Alhallows the Less ...	259	205	Dionys Back-church ...	99	59
Alhallows in Lombard St.	86	44	Dunstans in the East ...	335	225
Alhallows Stainings ...	183	138	Edmunds Lumbard-street	78	49
Alhallows the Wall ...	310	155	Ethelborow in Bishops-gate	205	101
Alphage Cripple-gate ...	240	190	St. Faiths...	89	45
Andrew-Hubbard ...	146	101	St. Fosters in Foster Lane	149	102
Andrews Undershaft ...	219	149	Gabriel Fen-Church ...	71	54
Andrews by Wardrobe ...	373	191	Georges Botolphs-lane ...	30	19
Anns at Aldergate ...	196	128	Gregories by Pauls ...	296	196
Anns Black-Friers ...	336	215	Hellens in Bishops-gte. St.	136	71
Antholins Parish... ...	62	31	James by Garlick-hith ...	180	109
Austins Parish	72	40	John Baptist	122	79
Bartholomew at the Exchange	52	24	John Evangelist	7	0
Bennets Fink	108	57	John Zacharies	143	97
Bennets Grace-Church ...	48	14	James Dukes-place ...	310	154
Bennets at Pauls Wharf ...	226	131	Katherine, Coleman-street	260	175

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	Bur.	Plag.
Katherine Cree-Church	886	373
Lawrence in the Jewrie	91	55
Lawrence Pountney ...	206	127
Leonards Eastcheap ...	55	26
Leonards Foster-lane ...	292	109
Magnus Parish by the Bdge.	137	85
Margarets Lothbury ...	114	64
Margarets Moses ...	37	25
Margarets New Fish st.	123	82
Margarets Pattons ...	77	50
Mary Ab-church ...	98	58
Mary Aldermanbury ...	126	79
Mary Aldermary ...	92	54
Mary le Bow	35	19
Mary Bothaw	22	14
Mary Coal-church ...	26	11
Mary at the Hill ...	151	84
Mary Mounthaw ...	76	58
Mary Sommerset ...	270	192
Mary Stainings	70	44
Mary Woolchurch ...	58	35
Mary Woolnoth ...	82	50
Martins Ironmonger lane	25	18
Martins at Ludgate ...	254	164
Martins Orgars	88	47
Martins Outwich ...	60	30
Martins in the Vintry ...	339	208
Matthew Friday-st. ...	24	11
Maudlins in Milk-st. ...	401	23
Maudlins Old Fish-st. ...	225	142
Michael Bassishaw ...	199	139
Michael Corn Hill ...	159	79
Michael Crooked Lane...	144	91
Michael Queen-hith ...	215	157
Michael in the Quern ...	53	30
Michael in the Royal ...	111	61
Michael in Wood-st. ...	189	68
Mildreds Bred-st. ...	60	44
Mildreds Poultrey ...	94	45
Nicholas Acons... ...	33	13
Nicholas Coal Abby ...	87	67
Nicholas Olaves ...	70	43
Olaves in Hart-st. ...	265	195
Olaves in the Jewry ...	43	25
Olaves in Silver-st. ...	174	103
Pancras by Soper-lane...	17	8
Peters in Cheap ...	98	44
Peters in Corn-hill ...	318	78
Peters in Pauls Wharf ...	97	68
Peters Poor in Broad-st.	52	27
Stevens in Coalman-st.	506	350
Stevens in Walbrook ...	25	13
Swithin at London-stone	99	60
Thomas Apostles ...	141	107
Trinity Parish	148	87

Burials within the 97 Parishes within the Walls, of all Diseases ... 14340
Whereof of the Plague 9197

Andrews in Holborn ...	2190	1636
Bartholomew the Great	516	360
Bartholomew the Less ...	111	65
Brides Parish	1481	1031
Botolph Algate	2573	1653
Bridewell Precinct ...	213	152
Botolphs Bishops-gate ...	2334	714
Botolphs Alders-gate ...	587	307
Dunstones the West ...	860	642
Georges Southwark ...	1608	912
Giles Cripplegate ...	3988	2338
Olaves in Southwark ...	3689	2609
Saviours in Southwark ...	2746	1671
Sepulcheres Parish ...	3425	2420
Thomas in Southwark ...	335	277
Trinity in the Minories...	131	87
At the Pest-house ...	194	189

Buried in the 16 *Parishes without the walls, part standing within the Liberties and part without: in Middlesex and Surrey and at the Pest-House* 26972
Whereof of the Plague 17153

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	Bur.	Plag.		Bur.	Plag.
Clements Temple Bar...	1284	755	Martins in the Fields ...	1470	973
Giles in the Fields ...	1333	947	Mary White Chapel ...	3305	2272
James at Clarken-well ..	1191	903	Magdalens Bermondsey	1127	889
Katherins by the Tower	998	744	Savoy Parish	250	176
Leonards in Shoreditch	1995	1407			

Buried in the nine out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey	12953
Whereof of the Plague	9067
The total of all the Burials of all diseases within the walls, without the walls in the Liberties, in Middlesex and Surrey; with the nine out-parishes and the Pest-house	54265
Whereof Buried of the Plague this present year, is	35417
Christenings this present year, is	6983
Parishes clear this year, is	1
Parishes infected this year, is	121

The figures we observe do not cast accurately, but this is no fault of ours.

It was during this year (1625) that, in consequence of the Bill of mort. having acquired a general reputation, the Co. of Parish Clerks obtained a decree, or Act, under the seal of the High Commission Court, or Star-Chamber, for the keeping of a printing-press in their hall, in order to the printing of the weekly and general bills within the City and Liberties thereof; for which purpose a printer was assigned by the Archbishop of Canterbury. And on the 18th July in that year a printing-press was accordingly set up, and an order then made that from thenceforth the weekly reports of the burials, within the limits aforesaid, should be printed, with the number of burials against every parish, which till that time had not been done. I believe one annual Bill is even now prepared and posted on the door of the ancient Hall of the Co.

1626.—The Returns of the City of Westminster and one or two other Parishes were included in the Bills—extending their total area to 5,875 acres.

1629.—Particulars of the *diseases and casualties* causing death was for the first time added, although such details had been returned to the Co. since 1604, or, according to Graunt, from 1592. It probably appeared doubtful whether such distinctions would be generally tolerated, and accordingly on

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their first promulgation in this year it was deemed politic to issue two sets of bills, one with, the other without, such additions. The duplicature was afterwards discontinued, and the weekly bills, thus stating the number of burials [males and females separately given also for the first time], christenings, and nature of diseases, without, however, any distinction as to ages, continued unaltered for many years, unless, on some special occasions, the plague or other circumstance had directed public attention to the subject.

1636.—The parishes of Hackney, Islington, Lambeth, Newington, Rotherhithe, Stepney, Poplar, Bethnal Green, &c., brought up their reports of the christenings, burials, and plague in like manner and form as the City and Westminster had done before. The area covered by the bills was thus increased in extent about fourfold—covering 22,538 acres.*

1642.—Graunt especially warns us that, from this year forwards, the account of the christenings is not to be trusted, the neglects of the same beginning about that period; for in 1642 there are set down 10,730, and about the same number several years before, after which time the said christenings decreased to between 5,000 and 6,000 by omission of the greater part.

1660.—The bills were newly modelled, and the *causes of death* in the whole 130 parishes were brought in. The 12 parishes in Middlesex and Surrey were made a division by themselves; and the 5 parishes within the City and Liberties of Westminster were also made a division, whereas before they were intermixed with each other; and from henceforth one weekly bill only was issued, and one ann. bill.

1661.—Captain John Graunt—a name now so well known, but whose very existence has on the one hand been denied,—while on the other he was (five years later than our present date) charged with shutting off the water of the New River Company, in order that the Fire of London (attributed to a Papist plot) might burn unimpeded—this now renowned

* *Vide* Burnett's Hist. of his own Time.

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Captain of the City "Train Bands," published "Natural and Political Observations mentioned in a following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality." The author says in his "Epistle Dedicatory,"—

"Now having (I know not by what accident) engaged my thoughts upon the Bills of Mort., and so far succeeded therein as to have reduced several great confused vols. into a few perspicuous tables, and abridged such obs. as naturally followed from them into a few succinct paragraphs, without any long series of *multiloquious deductions*, I have presumed to sacrifice these my small but first publish'd labours unto your Lordship, as unto whose benign acceptance of some other of my papers, even the birth of these is due; hoping (if I may without vanity say it) they may be of as much use to persons in your Lordship's place, as they are of little or none to me, which is no more than the fairest diamonds are to the journeyman jueller that works them, or the poor labourer that first dig'd them from the earth."

Next we reach the "Preface," wherein he tells us how he came to take an interest in the subject:—

"Having been born and bred in the City of London, and having always observed that most of them who constantly took in the weekly B. of mort. made little other use of them than to look at the foot how the burials increased or decreased, and among the casualties what had happened, rare and extraordinary, in the week current; so as they might take the same as a text to talk upon in the next company, and withal in the plague time, how the sickness increased or decreased, that the rich might judg of the necessity of their removal, and tradesmen might conjecture what doings they were likely to have in their respective dealings:

"Now I thought that the wisdom of our City had certainly designed the laudable practice of taking and distributing these accompts for other and greater uses than those above mentioned, or, at least, that some other uses might be made of them; and thereupon I, casting my eye upon so many of the general Bills as came to hand, I find encouragement from them to look out all the Bills I could, and (to be short) to furnish myself with as much matter of that kind even as the Hall of the Parish Clerks could afford me; the which when I had reduced into tables (the copies whereof are here inserted)

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so as to have a view of the whole together, in order to the more ready comparing of one year, season, parish, or other division of the City, with another, in respect of all burials and christenings, and of all the diseases and casualties happening in each of them respectively; I did then begin not onely to examine the conceits, opinions, and conjectures which upon view of a few scattered Bills I had taken up, but did also admit new ones, as I found reason and occasion from my tables.

"Moreover, finding some truths and not commonly-believed opinions to arise from my meditations upon these neglected papers, I proceeded further to consider what benefit the knowledge of the same would bring to the world, that I might not engage myself in idle and useless speculations; but like those noble *virtuosi* of Gresham College [the Royal So. held its sittings there at this period] —who reduce their subtle disquisitions upon nature into downright mechanical uses—present the world with some real fruit from those ayrie blossoms."

He then enters upon a detailed history of the bills, "their beginning and progress," in which we propose briefly to follow him.

"1. The first of the continued weekly B. of Mort. extant at the Parish Clerks Hall begins the 29th Dec., 1603, being the first year of King James, his reign; since then a weekly accompt hath been kept there of Burials and Christenings. It is true there were bills before, viz., for the years 1592-93-94; but so interrupted since that I could not depend on the sufficiency of them, rather relying upon those accompts which have been kept since in order as to all the uses I shall make of them.

"2. I believe that the rise of keeping these accounts was taken from the *Plague;* for the said bills (for ought appears) first began in the said year 1592, being a time of great mort., and after some disuse were resumed again in the year 1603, after the great plague then happening likewise.

"3. These bills were printed and pub. not onely every week on Thursdays, but also a general accompt of the whole year was given in upon the Thursday before Christmas Day. . . ."

He next gives some examples of the bills, which we shall

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have occasion to notice hereafter, and continues their history as follows :—

"10. We have hitherto described the several steps whereby the bills of mort. are come to their present state; we come next to show how they are made and composed, which is in this manner, viz. : When any one dies, then, either by tolling or ringing of a bell, or by bespeaking of a grave of the sexton, the same is known to the searchers corresponding with the said sexton. The searchers hereupon (who are ancient matrons sworn to their office) repair to the place where the dead corpse lies, and by view of the same, and by other inquiries, they examine by what disease or casuality the corpse died. Hereupon they make their report to the Parish Clerk, and he, every Tuesday night, carries in an accompt of all the burials and christenings happening that week to the Clerk of the Hall. On Wednesday the general accompt is made up and printed; and on Thursday published and dispersed to the several families who will pay four shillings p.a. for them.

"*Memorandum.*—That although the general yearly bills have been set out in the several varieties aforementioned, yet the orig. entries in the *Hall-Books were as exact in the very first as to all particulars as now; and the specifying of casualties and diseases was probably more.*"

The usual *honorarium* to the searchers was *one groat;* but it has been said or insinuated by one of the early writers on the subject—we forget which—that "the mist of a glass of ale, or the bribe of a two-groat piece," might sometimes modify the reported cause of death, where any such modification was desired.

Graunt next enters upon a series of "General Observations" on the bills, in which we can accompany him but a short distance here.

"In my discourse upon these bills I shall first speak of the casualties; then give my obs. with reference to the places and parishes comprehended in the bills; and next of the years and seasons :

"1. There seems to be good reason why the magistrate should himself take notice of the numbers of burials and christenings, viz., to see whether the Citie increase or decrease in people; whether it increase proportionably with the rest of the nation; whether it be

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grown big enough, or too big, &c. But why the same should be made known to the people, otherwise than to please them, as with a curiosity, I see not.

"2. Nor could I ever yet learn (from the many I have asked, and those not of the least sagacity) to what purpose the distinction between males and females is inserted, or at all taken notice of. Or why that of marriages was not equally given in. Nor is it obvious to everybody why the account of casualties (whereof we are now speaking) is made. The reason which seems most obvious for this latter is, that the state of the health of the city may at all times appear.

"3. Now it may be objected that the same depends most upon the accounts of epidemical diseases, and upon the chief of them all, the plague. Whereof the mention of the rest seems only matter of curiosity.

"4. But to this we answer, that the knowledge even of the numbers which die of the plague is not sufficiently deduced from the meer report of the searchers, which only the bills afford; but from other ratiocinations, and comparings of the plague with some other casualties.

"5. For we shall make it probable that in the years of plague a quarter part more dies of that disease than are set down; the same we shall prove by other casualties. Wherefore if it be necessary to impart to the world a good account of some few casualities, which since it cannot well be done without giving an account of them all, then is our common practice of so doing very apt and rational.

"6. Now to make these corrections upon the perhaps ignorant and careless searchers' reports, I considered first of what authority they were of themselves, that is, whether any credit at all were to be given to their distinguishments; and finding that many of the casualties were but matter of sense, as whether a child were abortive or still-born; whether men were aged—that is to say, above 60 yeers old, or thereabouts when they died, without any curious determination; whether such aged persons died purely of age, as for that the *Innate heat* was quite extinct, or the *Radical moisture* quite dried up (for I have heard some candid physicians complain of the darkness which themselves were in hereupon), I say that these distinguishments being but matter of sense, I concluded the searchers' report might be sufficient in the case.

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"7. As for *Consumptions*, if the searchers do but truly report (as they may) whether the dead corpse were very lean, and worn away, it matters not to many of our purposes whether the disease were exactly the same as physicians define it in their books. Moreover, in case a man of 75 years old died of a cough (of which had he been free he might have possibly left to 90), I esteem it little errour (as to many of our purposes) if this person be in the table of casualties, reckoned among the aged, and not placed under the title of coughs.

"8. In the matters of *infants*, I would desire to know clearly what the searchers mean by infants, as whether children that cannot speak —as the word infant seems to signifie—or children under two or three years old; although I should not be satisfied whether the infant died of wind, or of teeth, or of the convulsion, &c., or were choked with phlegm, or else of teeth, convulsions and scowring, apart or together, which they say do often cause one another; for I say it was somewhat to know how many die usually before they can speak, or how many live past any assigned number of years.

"9. I say it is enough if we know from the searchers but the most predominate symptoms; as that one died of the headache, who was sorely tormented with it, though the physicians were of opinion that the disease was in the stomach. Again, if one died *suddenly*, the matter is not so great, whether it be reported in the bills, *suddenly*, *apoplexy*, or *Planet-stricken*, &c.

"10. To conclude. In many of these cases the searchers are able to report the opinion of the physician who was with the patient, as they receive the same from the friends of the defunct; and in very many cases, such as *drowning*, *scalding*, *bleeding*, *vomiting*, *making away with themselves*, *lunatiques*, *sores*, *small-pox*, &c., their own senses are sufficient; and the generality of the world are able pretty well to distinguish the *gowt*, *stone*, *dropsie*, *fallen-sickness*, *palsie*, *agues*, *pleurisy*, *rickets*, from one another."

He deals more at length with those diseases "which are oftest to be confounded and mistaken;" but here we cannot follow him. At the conclusion of his work he claims to have arrived at "a new and accurate thesis of policy built on more certain reasoning than had yet been adopted—a

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claim which all who are familiar with his writings must readily admit.*

1664.—It appears that from this year the Co. of Parish Clerks commenced keeping a permanent register for reference in their Hall; but the earlier part of this register was afterwards lost. "The Co. are of opinion that the same was lent to Mr. Graunt, to enable him to write his *National and Political Obs.*, but by some accident never returned." The bills for this and the following year were also defective in the returns of christening.

1665.—This year—the year preceding the Great Fire of London—the City sustained another very serious visitation of the plague.

"The bill for the year—A General Bill for this present year, ending the 19 of December, 1665, according to the Report made to the King's most excellent Majesty, by the Co. of Parish Clerks of Lond., &c."—gives the following summary of the results; the details of the several parishes we omit, they being the same as in 1625, except that the out-parishes were now 12:—

Buried in the 27 Parishes within the walls	15,207
Whereof of the plague	9,887
Buried in the 16 Parishes without the walls	41,351
Whereof of the plague	28,888
At the Pesthouse, total buried	159
Of the plague	156
Buried in the 12 out-Parishes in Middlesex and Surrey	28,554
Whereof of the plague	21,420
Buried in the 5 Parishes in the City and Liberties of Westminster ...	12,194
Whereof of the plague	8,403
The total of all the christenings	9,967
The total of all the burials this year	97,306
Whereof of the plague	68,596

Then follow the "Diseases and Casualties this year:"—

* He says in his own quaint and modest way, in one of his works, "The accounts which follow I reckon but as timber and stones; and the best inferences I can make are but as hewing them to a square: as for composing a beautiful structure out of them, I leave it to the architecture of the said society, under whom I think it honour enough to work as a labourer." It is the Royal Society, of which he had been elected a fellow, that he here refers to.

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Abortive and Stillborne ...	617	Burnt and Scalded	8
Aged	1545	Calenture	3
Ague and Feaver	5257	Cancer, Gangrene & Fistula	56
Appolex and Suddenly ...	116	Canker and Thrush	111
Bedrid...	10	Childbed	625
Blasted...	5	Chrisomes and Infants ...	1258
Bleeding	16	Meagrom and Headach ...	12
Cold & Cough	68	Measles	7
Collick & Winde	134	Murthered & Shot	9
Consumption & Tissick ...	4808	Overlaid & Starved	45
Convulsion & Mother ...	2036	Palsie	30
Distracted	5	Plague	68,596
Dropsie & Timpany	1478	Plannet	6
Drowned	50	Plurisie	15
Executed	21	Poysoned	1
Flox & Smallpox	655	Quinsie	35
Found Dead in streets, fields, &c.	20	Rickets	535
French Pox	86	Rising of the Lights... ...	397
Frighted	23	Rupture	34
Gout & Sciatica	27	Scurvy	105
Grief	46	Shingles & Swine Pox ...	2
Griping in the Guts	1288	Sores, Ulcers, Broken and Bruised Limbs	82
Hang'd & made away themselves	7	Spleen	14
Headmould shot and mould fallen	14	Spotted Feaver & Purples ...	1929
Jaundice	110	Stopping of the Stomach ...	332
Impostume	227	Stone and Stranguary ...	98
Kild by severall accidents ...	46	Surfe	1251
King's Evill	86	Teeth & Worms	2614
Leprosie	2	Vomiting	51
Lethargy	14	Wenn...	1
Livergrown	20		
Bloody Flux, Scowring & Flux	18		

The bill finishes up as follows :

Christened.—Males ...	5,114.	Females...	4,853.	In all...	9,967
Buried.—Males ...	58,569.	Females...	48,737.	In all...	97,306
Of the Plague					68,596
Increase in the Burials in the 130 Parishes and at the Pesthouse this year					79,009
Increase of the Plague in the 130 Parishes and the Pesthouse this year					68,590

During this year there were published the following very interesting and now very rare works :—

(1) "Reflections on the Weekly Bill of Mort. for the Cities of Lond. and West., and the Places Adjacent: but more especially so far as they relate to the Plague, and other Mortal Diseases that we

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English are most subject unto, etc." Lond., "printed for Samuel Speed, at the Rainbow, in Fleet St." And therein is contained a B. of mort. for the year 1593, being a plague year.

(2) "The Four Great Plagues, viz., 1593, 1603, 1625, and 1636, Compared with the Weekly B. of Mort. printed every Thursday in the said years; by which an Increase and Decrease is plainly discovered in all those years." "Printed for Peter Cole, at the Printing Press in Cornhill, in the Royal Exchange." A copy of this passed with the library of the late Sir Hans Sloane into the Brit. Museum. It contains a Bill of the Burial of all Diseases within Lond. and the Liberties thereof, from March to December, 1593.

(3) "A Collection of the Original B. of Mort., Official Placards, and other Public Papers and Notices, Placarded and Pub. by Authority, during the various Plagues in Lond., from 1592 to 1670" (2 vols.). [Particularly copious and curious as to the Great Plague of the year 1665.]

(4) "London's Remembrancer, or a True Account of every particular Week's Christenings and Mort., in all the Years of the Pestilence, within the cognizance of the B. of Mort., being xvii Years." By John Bell, Clerk to the Co. of Parish Clerks. The bills here given comprehended 130 parishes, and distinguished the parishes by the four divisions, viz., 97 parishes within the walls; 16 without the walls; 12 out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey; and 5 parishes in the City and Liberties of Westminster. Of the parishes within the City that of St. James's, Duke's Place, was alone omitted from the bills. Some of the parishes within the walls were not included in the bills.

(5) "Certain necessary directions as well for the cure of the Plague as for Preventing the Infection."

(6) "Weekly Bills for the Plague Year, printed by E. Cotes, printer to the Co. of Parish Clerks."

(7) "London's Dreadful Visitation, or a Collection of all the B. of Mort. for this Present Year; beginning the 20th of Dec., 1664, and ending the 19th Dec. following. By the Co. of Parish Clerks of London." By way of preface to this book there is an address, "The Printer to the Readers," which shows the spirit of awe the plague visitations inspired in many men's minds:—

"Courteous reader, I presume that the candor of thy ingenuity is such that thou wilt not rashly condemn me of imprudence in the reprinting these sad sheets.

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First understand the reasons moving me thereunto, and then I am somewhat confident that thou wilt approve of my design. I know that romances and play-books too much gratifie the humours of the populace; but humble and sincere Christians with delight recall to minde God's mercies, and with awfulness tremble at His judgements: Behold, the ensuing papers will assist thy meditations in both: Consider His mercy to thee and mee, that we are yet in the land of the living, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling: His *judgements* on *many thousands* in or near this city, whom He hath in *one year swept away with the beesome of a temporal destruction:* O let us not imagine that they were greater sinners than we, the survivors! for *except we speedily and seriously repent, we shall all likewise perish*, either *Similitudine* or *Certitudine Pœnæ:* But I am a *printer*, no *preacher;* I shall therefore wave such discourses, and briefly, yet perspicuously, render a faithful account why I undertook this publication.

"In the year 1625, the stroke of the Lord's hand was heavy upon this city and suburbs, which year was ever since called *The Great Plague:* Now though thou hast seen probably several printed general reports, given by the parish clerks in that year, yet I am not able to recover all the particular weekly bills thereof; the sight of them hath been much desired these times; but it is beyond my power as yet to answer men's expectations. That posterity may not be any more at such a loss, I resolved to communicate unto the nation these subsequent leaves: In all humility beseeching the Omnipotent to confer upon us such an *uniforme* and *cordial repentance*, that every one of us may search out the *plague* of his own *heart* and *brain*, and purge ourselves, by His gracious assistance, from all filthiness of flesh and spirit; that so He may, in the riches of His tender compassion, return in favour to this sinful city, and restore health to our habitations: That neither the physicians of our souls or bodies may hereafter in such great numbers forsake us; and that neither my self, or any other of my profession, may have occasion, for the future, to print such *dreadful lines.*"

Then follows each *weekly* bill for the year, and the "general bill" for the year, from which we have already quoted.

Probably as a consequence of the attention thus drawn to the bills, a further improvement was introduced; the totals of the christenings were distinctly set down in the bills, under each of the four divisions.

1666.—During several weeks following the Great Fire, which commenced on 2nd Sept., the bills were not published; but the deaths for these several weeks were afterwards given together in one bill.

1667.—There was published "The Report of all the Christenings and Burials within the City of Lond. and the Liberties thereof, with the Out-parishes thereunto Adjoining,

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as also the City and Liberties of Westminster; from the 10th March to the 27th of the same, 1667, made by the Co. of Parish Clerks." Similar returns were also made for the years 1667, 1669, 1670, 1702, 1704, 1705, 1708, and 1709.

1676.—There was published "Observations upon the London Bills of Mortality," wherein were contained tabular results deduced from the earlier bills. Sir Wm. Petty, in his essay "Of the Growth of the City of London, and of the Measures, Periods, Causes, and Consequences thereof," published 1682, made a continuation of this table for the eighteen years 1665—82 inclusive.

1677.—Lord Chief Justice Hale, in his "Primitive Origination of Mankind," published this year, says that "nothing can be clearer than the gradual increase of mankind to be seen by the curious obs. in the B. of mort."

1681.—De Laune said, "The B. of mort. in times of no infection do yearly amount to 20,000 and odd, which is three times more than Amsterdam, and equal to, if not beyond Paris, as by the bills themselves may be seen."

1682.—Sir Wm. Petty, founder of the great house of Lansdowne, published an "Essay in Political Arithmetic; concerning the People, Housings, and Hospitals of Lond. and Paris." An edition of this work was afterwards done into French; and soon after its appearance Louis XIV., we are told, ordered more exact registers of births and deaths to be kept in France "than had before been known in Europe."

1689.—There was published "A Proposal for Better Securing of Health, containing Reflections on the Lond. Weekly B. of Mort., and Remedies to Lessen the Great Annual Amount of Deaths" (fo. sheet).

My subject being "Early Bills of Mortality," I do not propose to pursue it further now. The close of the seventeenth century is a fitting point to break off the inquiry for several reasons. There is, however, much remaining to be said respecting Bills of Mortality of great interest. I shall perhaps return to the subject at an early opportunity.

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PROVINCIAL BILLS OF MORTALITY.

1538.—The earliest Bills of Mortality of which we have any traditions are said to have been "kept" at Worksop (Notts), and Melton-on-Hill (Yorkshire), at this date. The statement is made by Dr. Short, M.D., usually a careful observer; but I believe that he is here in error, or at least only refers to Parish Registers,* and not to Bills of Mortality drawn from them and published. Other writers have fallen into a like confusion of terms.

1662.—The first known Bill of Mortality for the City of Dublin was published this year, and the following is a copy of this very primitive document:—

	Baptiz	Plague	Spot. Fever.	Small Pox.	Con-sum.	Fea-ver.	Aged	Rick-ets.	Flux
	1								
Saint Michans	2			1			1		
S. Katharines & S. James..									1
S. Audoens					1				
S. Michaels					2				2
S. Johns							2		2
S. Nicholas without					1		1		1
S. Nicholas within	5								1
S. Warbrows & S. Andrews	1				1				
S. Keavans	2				1				
S. Brides	1				1				

The Total Baptized 14. Total Burials 10 [should be 20]. *Jacob Thring*, Reg.

1665.—Graunt, in a "much enlarged" edition of his *Natural and Political Observations*, &c. (first published 1661, and already spoken of in a previous section of this paper), gave in the form of "an appendix" a table of Marriages, Christenings, and Burials, deduced from a Country Parish in *Hampshire*, also for the Town of *Tiverton* (Devon), and for the Parish of *Cranbrook* (Kent); and he also has a chapter "of the Country Bills," from which we draw the following quaint passage:—

"I have here inserted two other country bills, the one of *Cranbrook*,

* Parish registers were first instituted this year under a mandate of Thomas Cromwell (Essex), who after the abolition of the Pope's authority in England had been appointed the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs (Reign of Henry VIII.).

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in Kent, the other of *Tiverton*, in Devonshire, which with that of Hantshire, lying about the midway between them, give us a view of the most easterly, southerly, and westerly parts of England. I have endeavoured to procure the like account from Northumberland, Cheshire, Norfolk, and Nottinghamshire; thereby to have in view of seven counties most differently situated; from whence I am sorry to observe that my southern friends have been hitherto more curious and diligent than those of the north. The full obs. from these bills is, that all these 3 countrey bills agree that each wedding produces 4 children, which is likewise confirmed by the Bills of Amsterdam. Secondly, they all agree that there be more males born than females, but in different proportions, for at Cranbrook there be 20 males for 19 females; in Hantshire 16 for 15; in London 14 for 13, and at Tiverton 12 for 11. Thirdly, I have inserted the bills themselves to the end that whoever pleases may examine by all three together the obs. I raised from the Hantshire bill alone; conceiving it will be more pleasure and satisfaction to do it themselves than to receive it from another hand. Only I shall add, as a new obs. from them all, that in the years 1648 and 1649—*being the time when the people of England did most resent the horrid parricide of his late Sacred Majesty*—there were but 9 weddings in that year in the same places, when there were ordinarily between 30 and 40 p.a.; and but 16 when there were ordinarily at other times between 50 and 60."

It seems to me quite certain that what he here terms Bills were really only Parish Registers. But his observations are of none the less value on this account.

In the same volume he offers the following observations upon the Bill for the City of Dublin already given :—

"My first obs. shall be, that at Dublin the number of weekly burials being about 20, and those of Lond. about 300, as also the number of people reckoned to be within the Limits of the B. of Mort. at Lond. to be 460,000; it will follow that the number of inhabitants of Dublin be about 30,000, *viz.* about one-fifteenth part of those in and about Lond., which agrees with that number which I have heard the Books of Poll-money, raised but little before the time of this Bill, have exhibited as the number of inhabitants of that city; so as altho' I do not think one single Weekly Bill is sufficient to ground such a conclusion upon, yet I think that several yearly Bills is

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the best of the easie ways from which to collect the number of the people.

"Secondly, altho' I take it for granted that in *Dublin* there be more Born than Buried, because the same hath appeared to be so in Lond. by the B. of Mort. before the year 1641, when the Civil Wars began, and much more eminently in *Amsterdam*, as shall be hereafter shewn, yet there are but 14 set down as christened; which shews that the defect there is much the same as at Lond.; whether the cause thereof be negligence in the Register, or nonconformity to public order, or both, I leave to the curious. I believe the cause is also the same, for as much as I heard it to be a Maxim at Dublin, to follow, if not forerun, all that is, or as they understood will be, practised in Lond.; and that in all particulars incident to humane affairs."

1671.—The following Bill was published for the City of Dublin this year, and embodies some new and important features :—

The Parishes of Dublin.	Anno 1671.		Anno 1670, 71, & 72, at a medium.	
	Families.	Hearths.	Burials.	Births.
1. St. Katherine's and St. James ...	661	2399	161	290
2. St. Nicholas Without	490	2348	207	262
3. St. Michan's	656	2301	127	221
4. St. Andrew's with Donabrook ...	483	2123	108	178
5. St. Bridget's	416	1989	70	100
6. St. John's...	244	1337	70	138
7. St. Warbrough	267	1650	54	108
8. St. Audaens	216	1081	53	121
9. St. Michael	140	793	44	59
10. St. Keavens	106	433	64	133
11. St. Nicholas Within	93	614	28	34
12. St. Patrick's Liberties	52	255	21	44
13. Christ Church & Trinity College, p. estimate	26	197	—	1
	3,850	17,520	1,007	1,689
Houses built between 1671 & 1681, p. estimate...	150	550		
	4,000	18,070		

1683.—Sir Wm. Petty pub. his now rare Tract, *Observations on the Dublin Bill of Mort.*, 1681 [? 1671], *and the state of that city.* He first offers the reader the following general reflections :—

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The obs. upon the *Lond.* B. of Mort. have been a new light to the world; and the like obs. upon those of *Dublin* may serve as snuffers to make the same candle burn clearer. The *Lond.* obs. followed from B. regularly kept for near 100 years, but these are squeezed out of the six straggling Lond. B., out of 15 *Dublin* B., and from a note of the families and hearths in each parish of *Dublin;* which are all digested into the one T. or sheet annexed, consisting of three parts, marked A, B, C; being indeed the A B C of public œconomy, and even of that policy which tends to Peace and Plenty.

The Burials in *Dublin* for the said 6 years were 9865, the sixth part or medium whereof is 1644; which is about the twelfth part of the *Lond.* burials, and about a fifth part over. So as the people of *Lond.* do hereby seem to be about twelve times as many as those of *Dublin.*

The births in the same time at *Dublin* are 6157, the sixth part or medium whereof is 1026, which is about five-eighth parts of the 1644 burials; which shows that the proportion between the burials and the births are alike at *Lond.* and *Dublin,* and that the accompts are kept alike; and consequently are likely to be true, there being no confederacy for that purpose.

He then brings under notice the Bill for 1671, already given, and offers these observations upon it:—

It appears—1. That the housing of Dublin is such as that there are not 5 hearths in each house one with another, but nearer 5 than 4.

2. That in St. Warburgh's parish are near 6 hearths to an house. In St. John's 5. In St. Michael's above 5. In St. Nicholas Within above 6. In Christ Church above 7. In St. James' and St. Catherine's, and in St. Michan's not 4. In St. Kevan's about 4.

3. That in St. James', St. Michan's, St. Bride's, St. Warburgh, St. Andrew's, St. Michael's and St. Patrick's, all the christenings were but 550, and the burials 1055, viz., near double; and that in the rest of the parishes the christenings were 5 and the burials 7, viz. as 457 to 634. Now whether the cause of the difference were negligence in accompts, or the greaterness of the families, &c., is worth inquiring.

4. It is hard to say in what order (as to greatness) these parishes ought to stand, some having most families; some most hearths; some most births, and others most burials. Some parishes exceeding the rest in 2, others in 3 of the said 4 particulars; but none in all 4.

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Wherefore this T. ranketh them according to the plurality of the said 4 particulars, wherein each excelleth the other.

5. The *Lond.* obs. reckon 8 heads to be in each family; according to which estimation there are 32,000 souls in the 4,000 families of *Dublin;* which is but half of what most men imagine; of which but about one-sixth part are able to bear arms, besides the royal regiment.

6. Without the knowledge of the true number of the people, as a principle, the whole scope and use of the keeping bills of births and burials is impaired; wherefore by laborious conjectures and calculations to deduce the number of people from the births and burials may be ingenious, but very preposterous.

7. If the number of families in *Dublin* be about 4,000, then 10 men in one week (at the charge of about 5 pound, surveying eight families in an hour) may directly, and without algebra, make an accompt of the whole people, expressing their several ages, sex, marriages, title, trade, religion, &c., and those who survey the hearths, or the constables or parish clerks (may if required) do the same *ex officio*, and without other charge, by the command of the chief governor, the diocesan, or the mayor.

8. The bills of *Lond.* have since their beginning admitted several alterations and improvements; and 8 or 10 pounds p. a. surcharge would make the B. of *Dublin* to exceed all others, and become an excellent instrument of government. To which purpose the forms for weekly, quarterly, and yearly bills are humbly recommended.

We finally have some further observations in the shape of "a postscript to the stationer," the origin of which is stated with commendable frankness thus:—"Whereas you complain that these observations make no sufficient bulk, I could answer you that I wish the bulk of all books were less, but do nevertheless comply with you in adding what follows," viz.,—

1. That the parishes of *Dublin* are very unequal; some having in them above 600 families, and others under 30.

2. That 13 parishes are too few for 4,000 families; the middling parishes of *Lond.* containing 120 families; according to which rate there should be about 33 parishes in *Dublin.*

3. It is said that there are 84,000 houses or families in *Lond.*, which is 21 times more than there are in *Dublin;* and yet the births

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and burials in *Lond.* are but 12 times those of *Dublin:* which shows that the inhabitants of *Dublin* are more crowded and straightened in their housing than those of *Lond.;* and consequently, that to increase the buildings of *Dublin* will make that city more conformable to *Lond.*

4. I shall also add some reasons for altering the present forms of the *Dublin* B. of Mort., according to what has been here recommended, viz., (1) We give the distinctions of males and females in the births only; for that the burials must, at one time or another, be in the same proportion with the births. (2) We do in the weekly and quarterly bills propose that notice be taken in the burials of what numbers dye above 60 and 70; and what under 16, 6, and 2 years old; *foreseeing good uses to be made of that distinction.* (3) We do in the yearly bill reduce the casualties [causes of death] to about 24, being such as may be discerned by common sense, and without art; conceiving that more will but perplex and embroil the account. And in the quarterly bills we reduce the diseases to 3 heads, viz., contagious, acute, and chronical; applying this distinction to parishes, *in order to know how the different situation, soil, and way of living in each parish doth dispose men to each of the said 3 species:* and in the weekly bills we take notice not only of the plague, but of the other contagious diseases in each parish; that strangers and fearful persons may thereby know how to dispose of themselves. (4) We may mention the number of people as the fundamental term in all our proportions, and without which all the rest will be almost fruitless. (5) We mention the number of marriages made in every quarter, and in every year, as also the proportion which married persons bear to the whole; *expecting in such obs. to read the improvement of the nation.* (6) As for religions, we reduce them to three, viz. (i.) Those who have the Pope of Rome for their head. (ii.) Who are governed by the laws of this country. (iii.) Those who rely respectively upon their own private judgments. Now whether these distinctions should be taken notice of or not, we do but faintly recommend; seeing many reasons *pro* and *con.* for the same; and therefore, although we have mentioned it as a matter fit to be considered, yet we humbly leave it to authority.

What is most noticeable in connection with this treatise—and it is this fact which justifies our copious extracts—is the complete manner in which its writer saw at once all the

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more material considerations which have been found to attach to populations in general, and to dwellers in towns in particular.

1683. There is still existing an orig. copy of *A Yearly B. of M. for the City and Suburbs of Dublin ending the one-and-twentieth of March*, 1683. It contains the baptisms and burials for the different parishes—the former amounting to 1045; the latter to 2154. Mr. R. W. Wilde, from whom we obtain an account of this Bill, says of it:—

It does not, however, contain any record of the deaths and burials of the parish of St. Anne, nor of George's, Luke's, Mary's, Mark's, Paul's, or Thomas's, which are all specified in some of the subsequent Bills; neither does it contain any record of the French burials in the three graveyards belonging to that congregation; but under the head of "diseases and casualties" we find the item "Quakers," of whom 7 deaths are recorded. At first we find a comparison of the yearly, quarterly, and weekly baptisms and burials (in which the sexes, and in some cases the ages, are given) since the pub. of the previous Bills, and the sheet concludes with "The assize of bread, by order of the Lord Mayor." An examination of the diseases and casualties specified in this Bill affords matter for reflection upon the state of disease, the condition of medical knowledge, and the moral and social position of the people of Dublin at that time.

The Bill of Mort. for the year ending 21 March 168$\frac{3}{4}$—this was when the legal year then ended—contains, we assume for the first time, the "Causes of Death," with details as to ages at death, and other circumstances such as Sir W. Petty had suggested. We propose to give a complete copy of this B., which was as follows:—

A yearly Bill of Mort. for the City and Suburbs of Dublin, ending the one and twentieth of March, 168$\frac{3}{4}$.

Bap.		Bur.		Bur.	P.
016	St. Patrick's	064	Christ Church	006	001
140	St. Kevan's	194	St. Michaels	020	058
054	St. Audoen's	142	St. Michans	367	166
025	St. Andrew's	241	St. Nicholas' within ...	044	049
074	St. Bridgit's	128	St. Nicholas' without ...	316	131
088	St. John's	146	St. Warburg's	132	074
109	St. Cath. and St. James	373			

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Of Disease and Casualties this year.

Aged	159	Surfeit	001
Ague	004	Sore legg	001
Apoplex	001	Spotted Fever	001
Consumption	322	Sore mouth	001
Convulsion	238	Sudainly...	003
Child-bed	036	Teeth	187
Cold, Cough, & Chincough	019	Tent	010
Canker	001	Vomiting & Loosness ...	007
Collick	002	Worms	001
Dropsy	019	Dyed in Prison	001
Evil	004	Overlaid...	001
Fever	527	Hurt by accident ...	001
Flux	078	By a kick	001
Gravil & Stone	006	Broken leg	001
Grips & Griping of the Guts	003	Fell of the new building	001
Infants	178	Bruised	001
Jaundice...	003	Broken Thigh	001
Impostume	004	Drowned	001
Lethergy	001	Choked her self... ...	001
Livergrown	001	Burnt	001
Meazles	122	Found mur. in aunge fiel	001
Ptisick	002	Hurt & illused by her master and mistriss	001
Palsy	002	Hanged her self ...	001
Plurrisy	002	Hanged Himself ...	001
Quinsy	002	Drowned her self ...	001
QUAKERS	007	Poysoned her self ...	001
Rickets	016	French Pox	001
Rising of the Lights ...	001	Killed by the Goal man	001
Stoping of the Stomach	008	Murdred	001
Small pox	143	Hanged at the Gallows	010
Swelling of the Throat...	001		

Males Bur. this year ...	1114	Females bap. this week	1010
Females bur. this year...	1040	Under 16	1227
Males bapt. this year ...	640	Above 16	0931
Females bap. this year	405	Tot. bur. this Year ...	2154
Males bur. this quarter	0343	Tot. bap. this Year ...	1045
Females bur. this quarter	331	Tot. bur. this quarter...	0673
Males bap. this quarter	150	Tot. bap. this quarter	0277
Females bap. this quarter	122	Tot. bur. this week ...	0075
Males bap. this week ...	0013	Total bap. this week ...	0023

Decr. in bur. this year...	0105	Incr. in Chr. this year	0135
Incr. in bur. this quarter	0125	Incr. in Chr. this quarter	0022
Incr. in bur. this week ...	0026	Incr. in Chr. this week	0009

*Assize of Bread by order of the Lord Mayor.**

Penny white, 9 ounces & 1 quarter.
Penny wheaten, 14 ounces & 4 pennyweight.
Penny household, 19 ounces.

WILLIAM BRERETON, *Register.*

* *Note.*—I do not know by what coincidence it first came about that the price of Bread was appended to the Bills of mort. &c.; it was so in the London Bills (not the earliest). It is quite certain that the price of food has a very important bearing upon the number of deaths.

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1686.—Sir Wm. Petty reprinted his tract of 1682, under the title of *Further observations upon the Dublin Bills* or *accounts of Houses, Hearths, Baptisms, and Burials of the City.* In this was contained the following Bill for 1682 :—

Dublin, 1682.

Parishes.	Houses.	Fire-places.	Baptized.	Buried.
St. James	272	836	122	306
St. Katherines	540	2918		
St. Nicholas without & St. Patyicks ...	1064	4082	145	414
St. Bridgets	395	1903	68	149
St. Audaen	276	1510	56	164
St. Michael	174	884	34	50
St. Johns	302	1636	74	101
St. Nicholas within & Christ Church Lib.	153	902	26	52
St. Warbrough	240	1638	45	105
St. Michans	938	3516	124	389
St. Andrews	864	3638	131	300
St. Kevans	554	2120	87	233
Donobrook	253	506		
	6025	25,369	912	2263

Upon this he remarks, "The Table hath been made for the year 1682, wherein is to be noted :"

1. That the houses which *anno* 1671 were but 3,850, are *anno* 1682, 6,025 ; but whether this difference is caused by the real encrease of housing, or by fraud and defect in the former accompts, is left to consideration. For the burials of people have increased but from 1696 to 2263, according to which proportion the 3850 houses *anno* 1671, should *anno* 1682 have been but 5143 ; wherefore some fault may be suspected as aforesaid, when farming the hearth-money was in agitation.

2. The hearths have increased according to the burials, and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the said increase more, viz. the burials *anno* 1671 were 1696, the $\frac{1}{3}$ whereof is 563, which put together makes 2259, which is near the number of burials *anno* 1682. But the hearths *anno* 1671 were 17500, whereof the $\frac{1}{3}$ is 5833, making in all but 23,333 ; whereas the whole hearths *anno* 1682 were 25,369, viz. $\frac{1}{3}$ and better of the said 5833 more.

3. The houses were *anno* 1671 but 3850, which if they had increased *anno* 1682 but according to the burials, they had been but 5143, or according to the hearths had been but 5488, whereas they

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appear 6025, increasing double to the hearths. So as 'tis likely there hath been some error in the said account of the houses, unless the new houses be very small, and have but one chimney apiece, and that ¼ of them are untenanted. On the other hand, 'tis more likely that when 1696 died p.a. there were near 6000: for 6000 houses at 8 inhabitants per house would make the number of the people to be 48 thousand, and the number of 1696 that died, according to the rule of 1 out of 30, would have made the number of inhabitants about 50 thousand; for which reason I continue to believe there was some error in the accompt of 3850 houses as aforesaid, and the rather because there is no ground from experience to think that in 11 years the houses in *Dublin* have increased from 3850 to 6025.

Moreover, I rather think that the number of 6025 is yet short, because that number at 8 heads per house, makes the inhabitants to be but 48,200; whereas the 2263 who died in the year 1682, according to the aforementioned rule of 1 dying out of 30, makes the number of people to be 67,890; the medium betwixt which number and 48,200 is 58,045, which is the best estimate I can make of that matter, which I hope authority will ere long rectify, by direct and exact inquiries.

4. As to the births, we say that *anno* 1640, 1641, and 1642, at *Lond.* just before the troubles in religion began, the births were $\frac{5}{6}$ of the burials, by reason, I suppose of the greaterness of families in *Lond.* above the country, and the fewer breeders, and not for want of registering. Wherefore deducting $\frac{1}{6}$ of 2263, which is 377, there remains 1886 for the prob. number of the births in *Dublin* for the year 1682; whereas but 912 are represented to have been christen'd in that year, though 1023 were christen'd *anno* 1671 when there died but 1696; which decreasing of the christenings, and increasing of the burials, shows the increase of non-registering in the legal books, which must be the increase of Roman Catholics at *Dublin.*

The scope of this whole paper therefore is, That the people of *Dublin* are rather 58,000 than 32,000; and that the Dissenters, who do not regis. their baptisms, have increased from 391 to 974; but of Dissenters none have increased but the *Roman Catholicks*, whose numbers have increased from about 2 to 5 in the said years. The exacter knowledge whereof may also be better had from direct inquiries.

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1688.—Sir Wm. Petty brought the subject of the Dublin Bills of mort. under the notice of the Royal Society. The paper will be found in the *Philosophical Transactions* for this year.

1690.—There is or was in Trinity College Library, Dublin, a manuscript of Dr. Willoughby's under this date:—*Obs. on the B. of M. and Increase of People in Dublin; the Distempers, Air and Climate of this Kingdom; also of Medicines, Surgeons, Physicians, and Apothecaries.* It bears the indorsement, "Sent to the Right Rev. Dr. William King, Bishop of Derry, whose remarks therein are annexed in a letter to the author, 20th May, 1691." Dr. Willoughby was an English physician settled in Dublin, and a man of undoubted renown. He says—

"The Bills of Mortality have not been kept in Dublin much above ten years. I have been constantly served with them for these 8 years, and thought I had a sufficient stock to make some obs. upon; but when I came to review my collection, I found it very imperfect; partly by neglect of servants whom I entrusted to put them on the file, and partly through my own frequent absence from home; so that I was not able to make up all the yearly bills, and was fain to be content with those I have entered, not knowing where to supply my want of them in all Dublin."

The subsequent portion of this MS. discusses the question of the average yearly mortality, as well as the various diseases specified in the Bills.

1695.—The pop. of Dublin was enumerated this year (*Phil. Trans.*, No. 261), and found, "by an exact survey," to be 40,508. We have no account of the burials during the same year but from 1661 to 1681 the medium had been 1,613; and from 1715 to 1728 it was 2,123. Dr. Price, upon these returns estimated the deaths in the city in 1695 at 1,800; "and this makes 1 in 22 die annually." That was evidently much nearer the correct estimate than Petty's 1 in 30, and at once accounts for the erroneous estimate of the pop. made by that most ingenious writer, to whose suggestions we may feel pretty certain was due the enumeration.

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I have been unable to find a Bill of mort. for the City of *Edinburgh* dated in the seventeenth century. Dr. Price constructed a table of mort. from those kept in this City during the twenty years 1739-58, but does not refer to any of earlier date. But I think there must have been some. May I commend this investigation to some of our numerous Scotch members?

Bills of Mortality in Continental Europe.

I have seen reference made to very early Bills of Mort. in *Vienna*, but have never met with an authentic record of any of these.

1551.—The first Bill of Mortality of which I find any authentic record was published in *Geneva* this year; and discarding, as I feel we must, the statement of Dr. Short as to the earlier Bills in England, this is the earliest Bill of which we have any knowledge in modern history.

1670.—The first Bill of Mort. issued in *Paris* was for this year.

1687.—A Bill of Mort. was issued at this date at *Breslau*, in Silesia, which *recorded the ages at death.* This gave a value to the Bill for scientific purposes which no other could possess.*

1692.—Application was made by Mr. Justell, a member of the Royal Society, to Dr. Newmann, of Breslau, for copies of the city "Registers." These were sent for the 5 years 1687—1691. They comprised a total of 6,193 births and 5,869 deaths, with some other important details.

1693.—These data being obtained, it would appear that they were especially handed over to Halley, the Astronomer Royal, in view of being carefully considered by him, and

* It will be seen from what follows that there is reason for doubt as to whether a separate Bill was pub. for this city, or whether it is not the Registers of Deaths which are really referred to.

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rendered available for scientific purposes. All this implies efforts and failures in other directions—to what degree we shall perhaps never entirely know. But what follow throws some, although but faint light upon this part of the case. Finally Halley submitted to the Royal Society a paper: *An Estimate of the Degrees of the Mortality of Mankind, drawn from curious Tables of the Births and Funerals of the City of Breslau; with an attempt to ascertain the Price of Annuities upon Lives.* By E. Halley, F.R.S. This paper will be found in the *Phil. Trans.* for the year. I take the following explanatory passages from it:—

"The contemplation of the mort. of mankind has, besides the *moral*, its *physical* and *political* uses, both which have been some years since most judiciously consider'd by the curious Sir William Petty, in his natural and political obs. on the B. of Mort. of Lond., owned by Capt. John Graunt; and since in a like treatise, on the B. of Mort. of Dublin. But the deduction from those B. of Mort. seemed even to their authors to be defective. First: In that the *number* of the people was wanting. Secondly, that the *ages* of the people dying was not to be had. And lastly: That both Lond. and Dublin, by reason of the great and casual accession of strangers who die therein (as appeareth in both by the great excess of funerals above the births), rendered them incapable of being standards for this purpose; which requires, if it were possible, that the people we treat of should not at all be changed, but die where they were born, without any adventitious increase from abroad, or decay by migration elsewhere.

"This defect seems in a great measure to be satisfied by the late curious T. of the B. of Mort. of the City of Breslau, lately communicated to this honourable So. by Mr. Justell, wherein both the ages and sexes of all that die are monthly delivered, and compared with the number of births for five years last past, viz., 1687, 88, 89, 90, 91, seeming to be done with all the exactness and sincerity possible.

"The city of Breslau is the capital City of the Province of Silesia, . . , and very nigh the latitude of Lond. It is very far from the sea, and as much a Mediterranean place as can be desired, whence the confluence of strangers is but small, and the manufacture of

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Linnen employs chiefly the poor people of the place, as well as of the country round about. . . . For these reasons the people of this City seem most proper for a standard; and the rather for that the births do a small matter exceed the funerals. The only thing wanting is the number of the whole people, which in some measure I have endeavoured to supply by the comparison of the mort. of the people of all ages, which I shall from the said bills trace out with all the accuracy possible."

And thus was obtained the first known modern life, or mortality, table!

General Observations.

The early Bills of Mort. here given have been used in various ways, yet mostly from one common motive—that of self-preservation. But whatever the motive in which they originated, good, most extended good, has resulted. Sydenham, it is evident, had the London Bills before him in writing his imperishable commentaries. Arbuthnot used them in an argument on Divine Providence, and in the interests of morality. He showed from these Bills that males always exceeded females in the yearly births, but that external accidents make great havoc amongst the males, and so reduce the numbers of the sexes to uniformity; he concludes therefore, that polygamy is contrary to the law of nature and justice. Heberden, in a masterly paper, illustrated the use of the weekly observations, and deduced from them an important, law—the influence of cold upon health.* And to these Bills the important science of Life Contingencies may be said to owe, if not its existence, certainly all the more essential points of its usefulness. Previous efforts in this connection had resulted in mere approximations, the element of *certainty* was entirely wanting.

I have shown how the genius of Halley deduced from the advanced but still crude data supplied by a Silesian city the first table which—since the days, at least, of the Prætorian

* *Vide Phil. Trans.* for 1796.

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Prefect Ulpianus*—could be construed into being at all an accurate measure of human life as it then existed. So that we see out of the records of deaths as shadowed forth in the Bills of Mort., we have come to have a clear understanding of the incidents and decadence attending human life. We have, as a consequence, been enabled to build up a scientific system of Life Insurance, Annuity contracts, and Provident Associations, in a great variety of combinations, by means of which the more material wants of the human race may be provided for, and distress, with all its concomitant evils and associated miseries, for ever banished. Is it necessary to say more in order to commend the inquiry here commenced to the watchful keeping of the members of the Royal Historical Society?

* The first judicial occasion for valuing lives arose in consequence of the Falcidian law (*Lex Falcidia de Legati*), which in B.C. 40 was adopted in the Roman empire, and which declared that a testator should not give more than three-fourths of his property in legacies, and thus one-fourth was required to be secured to his legal heirs. It became necessary, as a consequence, to have the means of valuing legacies given in the form of annuities, &c., and means were found.

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ON THE SETTLEMENT OF BRITAIN AND RUSSIA BY THE ENGLISH RACES.

By HYDE CLARKE,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society; Vice-President of the Statistical Society; Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen; Hon. Member of the Byzantine Philological Society; Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute; Hon. Member of the American Anthropological Institute; Member of the German Oriental Society; Corr. Member of the American Oriental Society.

I.—People of Old Britain.
II.—The English and Suevians, Angli, Carini Warings, Rugi, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, Hunsing, Danes, Boructuari, Franks, Vandals, Burgundians.
III.—History of the Warings and Rugians (Varini, Varanghians, Russians).
IV.—The Warings and English in Constantinople and Greece.
V.—Local Names, River Names, Laws of Names in Britain.
VI.—Cold Harbours.
VII.—Names of Roman Sites.
VIII.—Value of Legend in History.

I. England, as we know, has taken its fair share in writing history, as the names of Gibbon and Grote among many others show. The history of the English has not, however, had the same care bestowed upon it, notwithstanding the work of such men as Kemble, Sharon Turner, Palgrave, Freeman, and others. What we commonly have is a history of this island of Britain beginning with Welsh and Belgians, and setting forth the landing and wars of the Romans Thus Earl Russell, the President of this Society, was right some years ago in saying that the history of the English themselves has yet to be written.

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When we come to think of the true history of the English in Europe, in America, in India, and in the southern world, we see how little the old Welsh or the Romans have to do with us, and how much the English element is the one to be studied, even when we bear in mind that now we head a confederacy in which the Irish and other people of these islands hold so great a part.

Who were these English in their beginning? all would ask but ourselves, who have been careless of it. Even Milton put aside the annals of the early English for the legends of Brute King of Britain.

It is by setting forth from Britain that we are led astray. We must set forth from that heartland and hearthland of our forefathers in Jutland; and when we come to Britain, to Ireland, or to Virginia, then is the aftertime to take up the history of these lands and of those who came before us.

There are, however, some who would yet stand still in the old ways, in the doubt whether the English did come into these islands in their might, and whether they did not rather lose themselves in a crowd of Romans and Welsh, whose laws and civilization they borrowed, though, wonderful to say, they did not borrow their speech. The few English who came, say they, stepped into the houses and shoes of the Romans, and the English alderman was only a follower of the Roman prætor.

So hard do many find it to believe plain things, that we have book after book, which year after year gives Welsh etymologies for common English names of towns and hamlets, such as we find on the mainland, where the Welsh can have given no such names. Some, strengthened by the great name of Huxley, teach what no man in these islands believes in his own business and no woman in her own household, that there is no difference of English, of Welsh, or of Irish, but that each is the same.

Thus not only is our story in Jutland but little thought of, but the early history of our coming here is crossed out, almost blotted out by some, and we are taught that all those great

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deeds done in olden times and in our own days have not been wrought by Englishmen in an English way, but by a mongrel crew, sprung from sham Romans and from our good friends the Welsh.

Towards that task which Kemble undertook, my work in this paper will be to set forth what I have found as to our earlier folk, and how far the names in England bear witness to the English having settled here or not. Some of this has been before printed by me years ago for scholars, but is now brought into another and readier shape.

It may, however, be good to say something of those races which formerly dwelt in these islands, inasmuch as it bears on the teaching of those who hold that the English must be mixed and must be Welsh.

It is commonly held that the river names are Celtic, but as the river names are like those elsewhere, or are the same, we must not deem them to be Celtic unless they belong to that time, in the same way that Blackwater and Winterbourne are seen to be English. The leading names, as Thames and Shannon, belong to the common stock to be found in India, and even in America, and are therefore before Celtic in time, and show there must have been a much earlier migration. So, too, the gold ornaments found in Ireland, and the trade in tin, and most likely the stone ornaments, bear witness to a time of culture, so often thought to be Phœnician, but in the old paths of which the Phœnicians were only followers. The loose word Iberian is, with Phœnician, thought to be enough to set forth history for those many thousands of years in which Britain has been peopled.

Britain must have shared with the whole world in the drifting of races of men, which, spreading throughout the Old World and America to the farthest nooks, would not leave these islands alone unmoved. The cave remains are witness to some of the earliest and lowliest of these comers, perhaps black, perhaps dwarfed and stunted like Lapps. In the time of Herodotus, the Kolkhians, he tells us, were as black as the Egyptians, and there are many of the tongues of the Caucasus which are akin

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to those of the Nile region. In the Caucasus there are now no blacks. Whatever may be said as to the Basques of France and Spain, careful search makes known that their speech is like those of the blacks of India and Africa.

In thousands of years race after race must have followed each other in Britain, and it is not needful to believe that each has gone on growing till now. Many must have died out, and of others some few remains alone can be looked for in the west of Ireland.

Cæsar and Tacitus, besides other British marked out Belgians and Silures in this island, the latter like the men of Spain, and seemingly like the Basques.

The Celts and Belgians were driving out the others when the Roman settlement stayed them, and the English settlement driving on the Celts towards the west would have worked in the same way. Thus as thousands of years rolled on, folk after folk died out in this world of Britain, and it is hopeless to look in this day for the arithmetical mixture of blood in which these olden dwellers might have shared, had they lived through the struggle.

Such arithmetical mixture of the blood does not hold good among men. The stronger or the weaker may carry the day by will, and one lives and one dies, as has been the way in all times, as it may yet be with ourselves. The Romans were dying out when their empire fell, and we find no Greeks in Greece, where Greeks had given way to Slavs, and where at this time the Albanians in Athens and at its gates may be told by their looks, their speech, and their clothing.

II. To our own fathers we must look, and not be led away by a search for them in earlier comers to Britain, but in those lands which they held on the main, and which for so many hundred years were known to be our old and true home.

First of all let us set down what name we shall give ourselves. Saxon or Anglo-Saxon is good in its way, but for our work is misleading. We might as well say British, as is often said now. In the end we must come down to English in this day, and so we must go back to it. Our speech, our learning,

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we call English, as did our fathers in olden times. If the Saxons are named in the Chronicle, so are the English, but so are not many who we know had a great hand in the work. The English, whom we find as well as Saxons in the Roman writers, were beyond all others the leaders in the beginning as of late, and we shall find it worth our while to look after them. The Saxons are not to be set aside, but to take them first of all is only to bring us down to false comparisons with the so-called Saxons of this day, who are now High Dutch.

Three stocks of those who came into Britain are known to all,—the English, the Saxons, and the Jutes. There were, however, others. Beda, in the ninth chapter of his fifth book, names Frisians, Rugians, Danes, Hunni, Old Saxons, and Boructwar. To these let us add Franks, Vandals, Burgundians, and other Suevians.

As to the English, Saxons, and Jutes, we need not now trouble ourselves, as so much has been written about them. The Frisians are acknowledged, and the Hunni may also be taken to be Frisian, as being the Hunsing, one of the four Frisian stocks.*

The Rugians have been left to moulder in the books of Beda, and there for the time we will let them stay. In searching the Roman writers we find in the Germania of Tacitus Angli et Varini linked together. The Varini must therefore have been very near the English, but who these yokefellows of our fathers were who has cared to know? It might, however, have been thought worth while to follow them up.

Before doing so we should not overlook the Danes, for while the great body of the leading tribes are known not to be Scandinavian, but Suevian, the name of Dane might make us think that there were earlier Scandinavians who shared with us. It may, however, be quite otherwise, and that the Danes of Beda, so far from being Scandinavians, were Suevians. Jutland and its neighbourhood were, in the Roman time,

* Procopius de Bello Gothico, iv., speaks of Britain as being held by English, Saxons and Frisians. The Frisians had the laws of Wulemar with the English and Warings. (See p. 259.)

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Suevian, but when the English, Saxons, Frisians, and Warings swarmed forth by land and sea, then the land, which Beda says was waste and empty, was filled up again by Slavs from the east, and by Scandinavians from the north. Thus the Norse tongue steadily spread into Jutland, and the Suevian Danes, like the others, must have been overwhelmed by it, and Norse held the upper hand until these latter days of strife.

Thus it was that the earlier or Suevian Danes came into Britain, and afterwards the Scandinavian Danes followed the same path, and by and by the Norsemen. If this was so, we can understand that the earlier Danes, who still worshipped Weden, would be readily welcomed by their kith and kin among the East English and in Northumberland, and could set up a kingdom which, being afterwards fed by Norsemen, became less and less English, until it was a Daneland, like Jutland itself had then become, and Russia in after time.

Going back to the Varini, let us say that they were first written of by Pliny, about the year 50, in his fourth book, chap. xiv., where he names them with the Carini.

Let us stay for the Carini. This word we find only in Pliny. Who were the Carini? In my papers on the Warings it was held out that they were very likely a sub-tribe of the Angli, as the Hunsing of the Frisians ("Warings," 1869, p. 16).

We may, perhaps, go further. As Tacitus has "Angli et Varini," so Pliny has "Varini, Carini, Guttones," and they seem to be like. When, too, we come to think that Carini are found in Pliny alone, and that the Angli are not there, we may well believe that Carini stands for Angli.

There was a clan of Carring, for we have the name in Carring (Carrington), Charring (Charrington), Cherring, Carsing, &c., in the same way as we have the Varini in Waringwick, Warrington,* &c., as Kemble shows us we have the Walsing, the Billing, the Arding, &c.

* Car and War perhaps rhymed. In Pisidia, of Asia Minor, Bari and Caralis were neighbouring towns.

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By the Roman writers we find the tribes now before us thus dealt with:—

	Angli.	Carini.	Cherusci.	Varini.	Rugii.
Cæsar	—	—	vi., 10.	—	—
Pliny	—	iv., 14.	iv., 14.	iv., 14.	—
Tacitus	Germ., 40.		Germ., 36.	Germ., 40.	Germ., 43.
Ptolemy	ii., 50.	—	—	ii., 9.	ii., 2.

There is a name of Curiones, which is set down on the maps of Germania to the south-east of the Varini (Ptol., ii., 11). Then the Cherusci are set down to the south-west of the Varini. The Angli are only named by Tacitus and Ptolemy, and not by Cæsar and Pliny. The Cherusci and Carini on the other side fill the blank, and are also in the neighbourhood with the Varini. There is therefore a likelihood that Cherusci also is a name for Carini, and therefore for Angli.

It may be set forth that the Cherusci were those Angli who shared in the earlier wars with the Romans, as given by Cæsar (Book vi., chap. 10.), and by Tacitus in his Annals (Book i., chap. 11; book ii. chap. 2, 3, 6, 7; book xi. chap. 5, and Book xii.). There is this noteworthy as to the Cherusci, that although they were so long mighty leaders, they are at length lost sight of, being last spoken of by Claudian (Consul iv., Honor. 450). It may be, too, that Cherusci was the name given to the southern Angli, and this name may be taken to mean either Carrish (=Carini, Cherusci), as English (=Angli), or Car-Rugii, like Anglo-Saxon, standing for a league of Angli and Varini, or Carini and Rugii. Nor is it altogether against this that Tacitus ("Germania," chap. 36.) puts the Cherusci with the Chauci, and (chap. 10.) the Angli with the Varini and others. If we could claim these Cherusci as our forefathers, then they were known to Cæsar ("Bell. Gall.," vi., 10), they were those who checked Maroboduus, and they who helped Arminius to overthrow the Roman legions of Varus (Tacitus, Annals).

Dr. Latham ("Germania," p. 120) thinks the Cherusci stood in the stead of the Saxons, but for me they are the Angli.

III. To go on with the Warings, it may be noted that Varni

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is a name used for a Bactrian tribe (Bender "Die Deutschen Ortsnamen," Siegen, 1846, p. 7). Upon this it may be said that though we now find ourselves stopped from carrying back the Germanic tribe names beyond two thousand years it does not follow but that by and by we may meet earlier traces. An attempt has been made to affiliate Saxons in the same regions. Tribe names are so abiding that they are handed down from the dawn of time through thousands of years, although they may be borne by men of other blood. Among such names are Bodo, Garo, Agaw, Agua (Akhaioi), and others widely spread.

About fifty years after Pliny, both Tacitus ("Germania" chap. 40.) and Ptolemy (Book ii., chap. 2.) number the English or Angli and the Varini as neighbouring and in the same geographical position. Tacitus, as said, links "Angli et Varini." They are named by him as neighbours, and as holding, with other tribes of a group, the same worship. These are considered by me to be embraced in the dissertations begun by Tacitus in his thirty-eighth chapter on the Suevians or Suevi.

Here must not be forgotten the Rugians, or Rugii, who are also named by Tacitus as in the neighbourhood of the Gothones and the Baltic (Tacitus, "Germania," chap. 43. Ptolemy, ii., 2 ; Ammianus Marcellinus, Exc., sect. 48).

The northern part of Germania, on the North Sea, on the East Sea or Baltic, and in the between lying land of Jutland, was held, in the time of the Roman writers, by many nations who were not well known or distinguished by the Romans. Among them were the Frisians, Lombards, Saxons, English, Warings, Rugians, Goths, Burgundians, and others less nameworthy. The precise position of these tribes at any given time cannot be absolutely laid down. The names were not indeed given to separate nations or tribes, but to confederacies from time to time brought together out of the common body of the clans of the Suevians, as with Moghuls or Turks.

In all the confederacies, so far as we know, and as shown by the names in England, there were some branches of the same

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clan, together with other clans, found only in one confederacy. These clans may not all have been of the same blood or birth, nor did they all speak the same tongue. The chief forms of speech known are the English, the Frisian, and the Gothic. It has been lately held (see *Westminster Review*, July, 1872, and by Mr. J. A. H. Murray in the *Academy*, 1878, p. 190) that the Meso-Gothic was not High Dutch, and that the High Dutch is a late corruption of the Germanic tongue.

What is told or known as to the settlement of Britain gives us the means of estimating what happened in the earlier and later Germania. Members of several confederacies took a share in an expedition under a kingly leader. Thus we find as already shown, that some clans shared in all the new kingdoms so set up. So it happened that as one tongue was most spoken, it became the common tongue, or it was modified by that of the others into a new dialect. This, too, is well enough seen in America, and it may be taken to be the true ground of the dialects of England, moulded by the settlement anywhere of a mass of English, of Frisians, or of Jutes. So, too, among the Frisians to this day we find many dialects.

In the Roman time the position seems to have been this,—Frisians on our side, Saxons on this near side of Jutland, English on the other side of Jutland, and Warings and Rugians on the East Sea or Baltic shore of Germania.

It was on these confederacies leaving Germania that we came to know more of them. The English, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, Danes, shared in the settlement of Britain, and, as Beda says ("Historia Ecclesiastica," v. 9), the Rugians. As will be seen hereafter, the Rugians are yoked together with the Warings or Varini, as the Varini were with the English. Mr. Daniel H. Haigh's views are also in favour of the Waring share in the settlement of Britain. Thus we have—

Waringwick (Warwick)	Warwickshire.
Warrington	Lancashire.
,,	Buckinghamshire.
Werrington	Devon.
,,	Northampton.

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Warnborough	Hants.
Warnford	Northumberland.
Warnham	Suffolk.

There is also Varengo, in Lombardy, on the southern side of the Po, and over against the mouth of the Dorea Baltea (Rev. Isaac Taylor, "Words and Places," 1st Ed., p. 98), Varengeville in Normandy, and Varengefiord in Norway (the same, p. 126).

With these must be reckoned the names belonging to the kingly Waring house of the Billing—as Billinge, Billingham, Billington, Billingley, Billingshurst, and most likely Billingsgate.

The kings of the Warings were of the kingly blood of the Billing (see the *Traveller's Tale*). It might well be that one great gate of London was named after the Billing.

Following the Warings or Varini on the mainland, we find a body of them under the name of Warni sent down to the Rhenish border, and in the sixth century they are said to have been beaten by Childebert, king of the Franks (Fredegar, Chron., xv.). Mr. E. William Robertson called my attention to the Warings being spoken of as Werns and Gwerini; and he names them in his *History of Scotland*. As he says in Dom Bouquet, there is the letter of Theodoric to the king of the Gwerini, warning him against the Franks; but the king of the Gwerini seems to have joined the Franks against the Thuringians, and to have gained the victory.

Procopius often names the Warings ("Bellum Gothicum," Book II., chap. xv.; Book IV., chap. xx.), and it is he who tells the tale of the betrothal of Radiger, king of the Warings, to the sister of the king of the East English. This, to my mind, bears witness that the Warings cannot have been Slavs.

King Radiger having broken his betrothal and cast her away, the kingly maiden raised a host in England, went over sea, and landing on the mainland, fought King Radiger, and made him wed her.

Procopius names Hermegiscles as a king of the Warni.

Among the Warni, as among the old English, the son

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wedded the father's widow (Sharon Turner's *History*, Book III., chap. vii.).

In 689 the Rugians, whom we have seen ranked by Beda among the tribes of English kin, still dwelt in Germania (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, v.). Jornandes had spoken of Ulme-rugi and Ethel-rugi, but whether these were sub-tribes cannot now be told. Paulus Diaconus (I., ch. i.) enumerates the Rugi with the Goths, Vandals, and Langobards.

It has been most commonly held that Beda bears witness to the English and their kin having in his time died out in Jutland. He says, "From the English, that is the land which is named Angeln, and which is said from that time to this day to lay waste, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, came the East English, &c." This King Alfred gives over again in his English book of Beda. Thus it is thought the English had wholly left Jutland, whereas the meaning cannot go further than that the part named Angeln was emptied of its people; for Alfred himself in his "Orosius" names Frysland, Angli, Silland, and Dena, as in that country. From Langenbeck (1159,—note on the *Choronicon Erici Regis*) we learn that there were remains of Vandals and Burgundians and perhaps of Lombards in those countries.

The Warings were not so lucky as their brethren in giving their name to some of the great inroads into the Roman Empire, though they must have shared in all such, and, as already seen, are to be found widely named in Europe.

Before the time of Charlemagne the Warings of Jutland had the laws of Wulemar, the same as the English and the Frisians, and it was about the year 800 that Charlemagne confirmed their laws. These are still in being, and under the name of Laws of the Angli et Werini will be found in the collections of Leibnitz and Lindenbrog. These laws are like the Anglo-Saxon laws of Britain, and the Waring laws given to Russia.

Whether the Warings, as is likely, took a share in the forays of their brethren, the Danish sea-kings on the shores of Britain, we as yet know nothing. They showed no liking,

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any more than the Danes, for the Christianity which had in England upset the worship of Weden and the belief in the one All father. This we see, for in Russia they were not converted to Christianity till late. The Warings had, however, from their neighbourhood to the East or Baltic Sea, begun to make inroads on its shores at an early time.

In the ninth century (Chronicle of Nestor, 859) they took tribute from the Slavonians, as also from the Fins, as Choods Meriaus, and Kriviches. They must before that have found their way down the rivers of South Russia into the Black Sea, for in 839 many of them were stopped by Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. They were going back from Constantinople, following a Greek embassy from the Emperor Theophilus to Lewis. ("Annales Bertiniani," A.D. 839, and Luitprand, Book V. chap. vi). Indeed, the old Russian writer says that there was a well-known way from Waringia or the land of the Warings into Greece.

By the Slavs the East Sea was named the Waring Sea, as by the frightened Romans the shores of the Channel and of Eastern Britain were called the Saxon shore. The Dwina and the Dnieper were the great ways, the Warings going up the streams of Slavonia in small barks, and carrying them over from stream to stream, in the like way as their brethren did in Britain, or as is done in the New World. Slavonia was so weak and unsettled that the Warings made their way through the land at their will, or by their swords.

They seem to have sold Welsh, Irish, French, and other slaves to the Byzantines, bringing back Slavonian furs and Byzantine gold. Novgorod, or Newtown, in North Slavonia was a great seat of this trade. The Warings also worked their way to the neighbourhood of the Caspian by the Volga. This, so far as is known, is the first time the English met the Turks, and met them as friends. According to the Arabian writer, Ibn Fozlan, quoted by Dr. Tatham from Zeuss (Germania, Epilegom., lxiii.), they made a descent on Georgia and Persian Azerbijan by means of a fleet of ships in the Caspian.

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The Chood Fins, who were tributaries of the Warings traded with the Caspian for Indian produce, which was brought from Bokhara, and carried up the Volga and Kama to Cherdun, and thence ("Mallet's Northern Antiquities," by T. A. Blackwell, p. 218) to the Baltic. The Bokhara caravans also went to Cherdun. It is likely that the coins of the Caliphs of Spain and Mauritania, found in Sweden, came by this way.

The general description of the tribes by Nestor is like that by Tacitus and Beda.

	Angli.	Varini.	Rugii.	Dani.	Swedes.	Goths.
Tacitus	*	*	*			
Beda	*		*	*		*
Nestor	*	*	*		*	*

As the English have taken no heed of this matter, and the Scandinavians have, the latter have loudly set up their claims to the Warings as Norsemen. To do this they put aside the earlier history of the Warings, and they leave out the English, acknowledged by Nestor and the Byzantine writers, and they look only to the later share taken by the Norsemen. The Norsemen followed the Warings, and did not lead them.

Upon the Norse side Rafn and many others have written, and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen has printed much, and these writings have been freely quoted. Not even the Chronicle of Nestor has been given in English by the Record Office, though it has by the French. Thus it is a matter of some moment to us, and well worth our looking after, to know whether the great deeds of the Warings throughout the East belong to the English, or belong to the Norse. It is this English side which is here now upheld.

While on the one hand the Norsemen take away the Warings and Rugians, or Russians, as theirs, so do Dr. Latham and others put forth that they are Slavs, dwelling on the fact that Mecklenburg and the neighbouring lands had in later times been filled up by the Slavs or Wends, and they even set aside the Vandals.

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Thus straightforward facts are done away with, and the whole history twisted awry to make Slavs out of Englishmen or Englishmen into Norse.

The Turkish tribes were in those times working westward and driving on the Fins and Slavs. From the sea the Warings also pressed, and the unhappy Slavs and Fins knew not what to do. Some wished to withhold tribute from the Warings; but others thought it better to ask help from the Warings against their foemen. They said "Let us seek a king who can govern us, and deal out to us justice." An embassy was sent to Jutland of Slavs, Choods, Kriviches, and others; they said to the kings and aldermen of Jutland, "Our land is great and everything is in plenty, but law and order are wanting; come and take possession of the soil and govern us."

Three brothers of the god-like and king-like kin of Weden, Ruric, Snow, and Truvor, undertook to go, and got together a great host. These brethren belonged, says Nestor, to the kind of Warings called Russians, as others are called Swedes (Northmen), English and Goths. This was about 862, says Nestor.

Nestor's year for the landing of the three brethren, 862, is very likely right, for I look upon his Ruric as the same Ruric, a great sea-king, who worried the mainland of Europe* in 850 and 857, and who seems to have been a kinsman of Heriold, or Harold.† The kinship of Ruric is, however, not yet settled, but his offspring are to be found in Russia to this day, among which are several princely houses.

The daughter of Jaroslav, Duke of Russia, wedded with Henry le Bel, King of France, and thus the blood of Ruric has been again brought into many a house in England and France to mingle with other streams of the blood of Weden.

The Waring brethren landed among the Slavs and built the town of Ladoga; Snow settled on the shores of the White Meer or lake, and Truvor at Isborsk.

* Annals of Fulda, A.D. 850, 857, 882; Ann. Mett., A.D. 850, 857; Ann. Bertiniani, A.D. 850, 855, 867, 870, 874, 882.

† Annals of Fulda, A.D. 852. This has been dealt with by Kruse, Rafn, and others.

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Two years afterwards the two younger brothers died, and Ruric swayed alone. He overcame most of Slavonia, and shared it among his aldermen, who built many towns in which they settled Warings. It was these settlements which drained away from Jutland the old English, the Warings and Saxons, and most likely the Goths, Burgundians, and Vandals, the Frisians alone keeping in the old home.

IV. Two aldermen, Nestor tells, Oskold (Oswald?) and Dir, men of good blood, but not of the kith of Weden, set out on an inroad against Constantinople, but on their way made themselves masters of the town of Kieff, and of the land of the Polanians. In 863, 864, 865, and 866, says Nestor, but in 851 of the Greek writers, they kept up war on the Greek empire.

This was the first of four attempts made within one hundred and ninety years to plunder the rich city of Constantinople. These expeditions, from their boldness, are among the most noteworthy deeds of the English race; they attacked the greatest city in the world, strong by land and sea, and held by a people foremost in knowledge and wealth, while their own means were of the slightest. The bottoms of their barks, says Gibbon (chapter lxvi.), were made of the long stem of a beech or willow, and on this the sides were built up with boards until the height reached twelve feet and the length sixty. These boats or keels were without a deck, and had a mast and two rudders, and were made to move by sails or by long sweeps. They bore from twenty to forty men, their weapons, fresh water, meal, and salt fish or meat. The Warings began with a fleet of two hundred such ships, and towards the end they got together a thousand.

After plundering the northern shores of Anatolia, Oskold and Dir went through the Bosphorus and into the harbour of Constantinople, having slaughtered many Greeks. The Emperor Michael, son of Theophilus, hastily returned. The Greeks held him to be a godless and shameless prince, and they said that he went through the streets of the town with a rabble of buffoons clad as bishops and seated on jack-

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asses, and with this crew he had assailed the patriarch and his bishops.

When the Warings came against the town, the main hope of Michael was to go to the church of the Mother of God at Blachernæ, and by counsel of the patriarch he took therefrom her under garment, a most holy relic. This he dipped in the sea, and as a storm followed which shattered the Waring fleet and drove them off, the glory was given to the most holy Mother.

The Warings, however, got off with much plunder from Anatolia, so that in 904 Oleg or Olaf, the regent of the young king, was led to make another endeavour against Constantinople. He got together two thousand ships and a great body of Warings, English, Northmen, Slavs, and others. The Greeks this time shut the Bosphorus against the Warings, but the latter carried their fleet overland, as Mahomet the Second is said to have done afterwards, and came before the gates of the town. It is not unlikely that one way may have been that the Warings got up the river Sakaria, thence to Lake Sabanjah, and so to the Gulf of Ismid, an easier road for them than from Derkos to the Golden Horn; besides, they would have no fighting.

The Greeks having made overtures for peace, tried to kill the Warings with poisoned food and wine, but were baffled. In the end the Greeks paid a heavy ransom to the 80,000 men of the fleet. In the treaty which was made we find on the Waring side such names as Carl or Charles, Pharwolf, Weremund, Ingold, Good, Ruald, thorough northern names. By this treaty it was provided there should be mutual trade between the Warings and Greeks, and it shows how great by this time was the might of the Warings. Ships wrecked on the Waring shores were to be sent back, prisoners were to be given up on paying ransoms; as the Warings were large dealers in slaves, they had a right to get back runaway slaves; runaway criminals were to be given up on both sides; Waring workmen in Constantinople and elsewhere were to be under English law, and their goods after death were to be sent to their own land.

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Thus the Warings, beyond the trade in Indian and Eastern wares by the Caspian—in fact, with the Fins, and the trade they had with the Red Sea, the North Sea, and England, had a share in the trade with Constantinople and the southern seas. Well might such marts as Novogorod and Wisby flourish as did Venice and Genoa and the Hanse Towns by their India trade.

Before leaving, Olaf made the Greeks give silken sails to the Warings and cotton to the Slavs, and raised a shield above the gate of the city, most likely the Adrianople gate, in token of victory.

From 935 to 941, Ingar, or Igor, king of the Warings, was either making ready for war or at war with the Greeks. He brought together a great fleet, and began with an onslaught on Bithynia, and wasted Pontus as far as Heraklea, also Paphlagonia and Nikomedia, bearing fire and sword everywhere. In 941 the Greeks beat Igor in fight and with great slaughter, bringing Greek fire against his fleets. On both sides shocking barbarities were committed. The Warings, in no way broken by their loss, got together new ships in the next spring, having sent beyond sea for help to the old Warings and their kinsmen.

In 944, Igor led against the Greeks a great host by land and sea, having with him a body of Patzinag Turkomans, an early instance of friendship between the two races. The Greek Emperors bought off the war with a heavy danegeld, and the Patzinags were let loose on the Bulgarians.

In 945 a new treaty was made between the Greek Emperors, Romanus and Constantine and the Warings. To this were set the names of many Warings, among which are those of Wolf or Olaf, Halfdan, Alfad, Bronwald, Thurfred, Thurwin, Ingold, Ruald, Grim, Hakon, Frodi, Adon, Adolf, Antiwald, Furst, and Swain.* One is named as a trader. By this treaty the Warings were to have free trade throughout the Greek kingdoms, but were to take passports or free passes. On

* (Rafu I, vi.) gives these names otherwise.

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the other hand, the Warings undertook to help the Greek emperor in war.

In 955, Olga, queen of the Warings, went to Constantinople, and there she gave up the worship of her fathers and took to Christianity, being baptized, and giving up also her name, and taking from the Greeks that of Helena. This on her going back raised great indignation and dissatisfaction among the Warings and English.

In 964, Swithoslaf or Swatoslaus, the son of Igor, began a new war against the Greeks, but he was led by a gift of fifteen hundred pounds of gold to make war against the kingdom of Bulgaria instead. For this he raised 60,000 men and overcame that kingdom, but he became entangled in a war with the Greeks. He led against them a host of Warings, English, Northmen, Slavs, and Turks, getting as far as Adrianople. The Greeks, however, were headed by a new emperor, John Zimisces, a brave Armenian, who boldly met the Warings, beat them, and drove them back, so that after a hard struggle they had to make their way home.

There was a war in Hungary in those times, in which the Warings may have had a share, but of which little is known.*

Going back to the Warings, in what had by that time got the name of Russia, in 882, Olaf, the regent, made himself master of Kief, which, as we have said, had been settled by Oskold and Dir. Taking with him a body of Warings in ships, he went up the river to their neighbourhood, and then putting his men in hiding, he sent word to Oskold and Dir that some Warings who were travelling to Greece on behalf of Olaf and Igor were staying near Mount Ugor, and would be glad to see their countrymen. Oskold and Dir (Deor) going thither were set upon by the warriors, and Olaf, showing them the young king Igor, said to them, "You are neither kings nor of the blood of kings. Here is your lord." Thereupon

* Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," lv.; quoting Pray, Dissert., vi., vii.; Katona, *Historia Ducum*, Hung., pp. 95—99, 259—264, 476, 479, 483. Rafn (Antiquites de l'Orient) says they made an inroad into Armenia.

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they were slaughtered, for in those days it was the right of the sons of Weden to be kings over free men, and they held twenty kingdoms in the north, so that at this day their offspring are the kings of England, India, Denmark, Russia, and Saxony.

The end of this Olaf is like a legend to be met with in the Isle of Sheppey. Olaf had asked a soothsayer, "How shall I die?" and the soothsayer answered, "Earl, the horse you love, and whereon you ride shall bring you death." Olaf forthwith put away the horse. Five years afterwards he sent for his groom, and asked what had become of his horse. The groom answered he was dead. Then Olaf said, "What the soothsayer told us is lies; my horse is dead, and I live." He went straightway to where the bones of the horse lay, and looking at them said, "That is the horse which was to bring me death." Then he kicked the skull with his foot, but a snake or adder shot forth and stung him in the foot, giving him a deathly wound.

The restless Warings and English were not only busy in Slavonia, but they enlisted in the hosts of the Greek emperors and of the Mussulman kings of the East. Massoodi, the Arab writer, says that Warings or Russians and Slavs were in the service of the Great Khan of the Khosar Turkomans, and dwelt in his head town of Atel. In 912, with the leave of that king, they fitted out a fleet of ships or boats on the Caspian Sea, and wasted Dghestan and Shirwan in Caucasia. If the legends be true, our fathers had long before come from Caucasia, and the fairness of the English shows a mingling of blood not found in the High Dutch or most other Aryans, The so-called Turanian idioms in the English tongue are perhaps a survival of those far older times.

Another Arab writer, Abulfeda, says that in 944 they took the town of Barda, the head town of Aran, and fifty miles from Araja, going in their ships by the Caspian Sea and the River Corz, and going back the same way.

Indeed, these lands were often attacked by the Warings, for it is said that in 964 Swithoslaf overcame the Vasses and the

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Kassogs, supposed to be the Ossetinians and the Circassians. The Ossetinians speak an Aryan tongue, but one very uncouth.

Many of the tales of the Warings, as has been already seen, are like those of their brethren in England. Thus it is said that Olga, the wife of Ingar, or Igor, had a deadly hatred against the Drevlians for slaying her husband. She bided her time. Having killed many of their best leaders, she beleaguered the town, of which the houses were built of wood, and with thatched roofs. After some time the Drevlians offered peace, with a tribute of honey and fruit. Olga, with seeming kindness, would not burthen them, but only asked three sparrows and three doves from each house. These being given, the queen at night let them loose with lighted brands tied to their tails, so that the birds flying back to their nests and homes set fire to the town everywhere, when the queen sent her men in to slaughter the Drevlians. The same tale is told of Cirencester by Layamon, "Brute in England," thence called Sparrowchester, also of Wroxeter and Silchester.

During the tenth and eleventh hundreds the Warings and English died out in Jutland, and the Waring might in Slavonia being no longer fed, also dwindled. In the old land they seem to have been deeply given to the worship of Weden, handed down to them by their fathers. Hence dissensions arose between this old party and those whom they looked upon as degenerate forsakers of the great lawgivers of the north (Palgrave), whether they took up the gods of the Slavs, the Christians, or the Fins. Thus begun those onslaughts of the sea-kings on the English in Britain, followed up by the Northmen; and as the Suevians were thereby thinned, so did the Northmen, followers of Thur, become stronger among them, and the sect of Thur grew, and that of Weden waned, while the Suevians died out in their olden abodes. The same feeling was awakened as to Slavonia. In time the Waring or English earls and warriors, few among the folk of the land with whom they had wedded, left behind them sons and daughters who had lost their own speech and faith, and taken

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those of the Slavs, so that in time the name Russian no longer meant those of English blood, but Slavs alone.

So long as the old feeling was upheld, and the pride of blood swayed, so long a careful line was drawn between Russian and Slav, as between thane and thrall, or free and serf. Thus, too, in Spain, Goth became with all the name for noble blood, as Russian in Slavonia. The famous Waldemar, or Waldimir, being king of the Warings, sought as his queen the Lady Rogneda, the handsome daughter of Earl Rognwald, saying to him, "I wish to wed thy daughter." "Do you wish to wed Waldemar?" said her father to the lady. "No, I will not wed the son of a slave," answered she; for Waldemar was not the child of an Englishwoman, but a son of King Swithoslaf, by a Slav woman named Malusha. Waldemar thereupon sacked the earl's town of Polotsk, slew him and his sons, and made the lady wed him.

Her strong blood, however, showed itself at an after time. Having sought other wives, he slighted the Queen Rogneda, but having gone to see her in her abode near Kief, and there falling asleep, she sought to stab him, but he awoke. He then made up his mind to wreak his anger on her with his own hand, and he bade her clothe herself in her wedding dress, and await her death on a rich bed in her handsomest room. She did as she was bade, and the king came into the room to slay her, but was met by their English eldest son, Isiaslaf, who at his mother's bidding held forth to Waldemar a drawn sword, and said, "Take that sword and thrust it into my bosom, father, for I, thy son, will not be witness to the death of my mother." "Who thought of seeing thee here?" said Waldemar, and he threw away his sword. He then called together his earls, and laid before them what had happened, but the Warings would not let him shed the blood of their kinswoman, and he gave her and their eldest son, the town belonging to her late father, Rognwald, wherein to dwell together. Waldemar afterwards became a Christian, and wedded the daughter of the Greek emperor.

Thus ill feeling grew up between the half-Slav kings and

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the Waring earls and men; and though when in trouble the kings took shelter among the old Warings, as in 977 and 1030, and they drew warriors from them, they always sought to lessen their weight in Russia. About 980 the Warings asked for the tribute of Kief, which town they had taken; and Waldemar having deluded them, they upbraided him, and said, "We know the road to Greece." "Go, then!" said he, but Waldemar sent word beforehand to the Greek Emperor, to make him aware of their coming, warning him against them, and recommending him to kill them.

In Jutland the last record we have of the Warings is in 1030, but most likely some lingered there yet longer. *In* 1018 a great body of them was slaughtered at Novogorod. In 1023 a body of 800 went to Constantinople on the *old* errand of seeking service with the Emperor; but Basil, distrusting them, hindered them from landing. They thereupon made their way with their fleet into the Sea of Marmora, where the English fleet was this very year, beat the admiral of the Greek fleet in fight, went through the Dardanelles, and so to the island of Lemnos. Here they were, however, met by a stronger fleet and beaten. Giving themselves up on terms, they were treacherously slaughtered by the Greeks. There were, however, already great bodies of Warings in the Greek service, and one body was quartered in Lydia and Phrygia It is told that a Waring having insulted a woman of the land, she, in the struggle, got hold of his sword and slew him. The other Warings, coming up and hearing what had happened, said the woman was worthy of reward, and setting her free gave her the goods of the dead man, to whom they forbade burial.

About 1041 the Warings and their followers, under the name of Russians, were in great numbers throughout the empire, not only as warriors, but as traders; and a strife having arisen at Constantinople between some traders and the Greeks, a leading Waring was killed. This was taken up by Waldemar the younger, who raised a host and beset Constantinople. In the bloody warfare at first the Warings were

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beaten back with heavy loss, but afterwards they overcame the Greek fleet. They failed, however, in their main end of ransoming the town of Constantinople.

In Russia the rights of the Warings as a race were fully upheld, as is seen in their laws, which are an abiding monument. These laws drew a line between the Waring and the Slav, and they are framed like the laws of the Angli and Werini, and the Anglo-Saxon laws of the same time. Murder and all other crimes could be compounded for with a weregeld or money fine, the oath of a Waring being taken as evidence of innocence under compurgation, and questions of debt being left to the judgment of a jury of twelve. "If a debtor shall deny to pay what he owes his creditor, then the suit shall be brought before twelve men, who shall be the judges." Such is laid down in the laws of Jaroslav, and the like in the laws of Isiaslav, Usevolod (Oswald), and Swithoslav, made at a witanmote. These latter laws recite the laws of frankpledge and streetward. Many of the lands seem to have been held in soccage. The laws of succession gave the kingdom to the eldest kinsman as among the other English. The alderman or leader of each shire in time of war was chosen by the folk. Plunder taken in war did not belong to the king, but to the commonwealth of warriors.

In 1077 the Waring guard of King Vselav sent word to King Swithoslav and Vsevold, or Oswald, to occupy the town of Kief, offering to hold it against the Poles, but threatening if they did not to set fire to it, and make their way to Greece. Greece was, indeed, about to become the last home of the Warings. In the old land they were no more, in Russia their race lived but in name. Already many Greek priests had been brought in; the Slav tongue was studied by them, though English and Norse were still understood at Court. The earls had begun to add Slav names to their English names, and at length ended by dropping these and taking to Slav, Greek, and other heathen names.

At the end of the eleventh century the succession of William the Norman to the kingdom of England caused many of the

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English to seek shelter abroad. Some fled to Scotland and founded houses there, but many went to Jutland, to Norway, to Russia, and so to Constantinople, where they joined the Waring or Waranghian Guard of the Emperor.*

According to Scarlatus Byzantinus, as given to me by the Rev. Mr. Curtis, of Constantinople, the church of St. Nicholas and St. Augustine, at Constantinople, was built by one of these exiles, and was therefore a Latin, and not an orthodox or Greek church, taking one of its names from Augustine, the first missionary to the English. This, too, bears witness again to the share the English had in the Waranghian Guard.

It so happened that in 1862, being then living there, I read a paper at Constantinople on the Warings, before the English Literary and Scientific Institution; and in 1872 Mr. Curtis read another, in which he brings in some new matter.

We now witness the sight of a great and renowned race dwindled to a legion, but still keeping up its spirit of nationality, and being recruited from the old stocks in England and Denmark. It is worth asking whether this connexion between England and the Waring Guard may not have helped to strengthen the English at home against the Norman yoke. As we know, the English did not tamely yield; and those who held out from time to time not only took shelter among the bands of outlaws in Sherwood and the other woods, but also in Scotland and Ireland and on the main; so in the Waring host. From time to time such men must have come back; some would send money to their kindred, some would seek new men for the guard. It may well be that the English monks were as much upheld against the Norman monks and bishops by this outside help as by that from within. We find that under a dire thraldom the English of old blood still held on, and that as the Normans waned and dwindled the English came forward as holders of townships and as franklins, and from them the great body of the English gentry of this day have sprung. As we know, many Normans chose Normandy

* William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Anglorum, lib. ii.; Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiæ, lib. iv., lib. vii.; Cedrenus.

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for their home, and left England, so in time English and Anglo-Normans became welded in blood and speech.

Going back, the Byzantine taste shown in Anglo-Saxon book-painting may be owing to the old trade carried on by the East Sea with Constantinople, and of which we have already spoken. The title of Basileus found in some charters may also be owing to this eastern association. The English were traders as well as sea-kings and rovers, and we know in what esteem the trader was looked on, who had made three voyages in his ship. He was held as a thane. The trader would have to learn the speech of those with whom he traded and it may well be that more Greek was known among the English than has been taken into account by writers of these times. Here as elsewhere we find history repeating itself, as in a wonderful way English and Turks are brought together time after time, so we must allow for other likely events.

In the palaces of Constantinople these warriors still spoke the English tongue according to Codinus, and Gibbon says the Waranghians rose each day in confidence and esteem. The whole body assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards, and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen. "They preserved till the last age of the empire the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the English tongue. With their broad and two-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek Emperor in Constantinople to the church, the senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard, and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Waranghians."

It has been said that the costume of these guards was adopted by the palace guards of the Sultans, and it is even said the eldest son of the Great Mahmood in state ceremonies rode covered by high plumes like those of the Waranghians. This I have seen, but it was told me by Turkish statesmen that this was a new and modified costume.

A popular painting of the Anglo-Saxon refugees in the

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Waranghian guard is drawn by Sir Walter Scott in his novel of "The Count of Paris," and yet few of the thousands who have read it have bethought themselves of its bearing on our own history.

Of the connexion of the Waring Russians with Constantinople, and of the reverence shown to their valour, a well-known tale is recorded by Gibbon. It was attested and believed by the vulgar of every rank in that town, that on the statue of a horseman in the square of Taurus was secretly written a saying foretelling that the Russians in the last days should become masters of Constantinople. This brazen statue was brought from Antioch, but was melted down by the Latin Crusaders. Still the tale lingered to our own days, and has come to our ears. It was cheerfully claimed by the Muscovites, unmindful that the saying was of a time when the Russians were English and not Slavs, and in our days both English and Slav have again stood before Constantinople with an English fleet in sight of the same old walls.

Professor Rafn, in his "Antiquités de l'Orient," attributes the rune-carved lion of the Piræus of Athens to Harold the Tall who is thought to have fled from the north, and to have made his way by Russia to Constantinople in 1033, where he entered the Waranghian guard and rose to be its head, leaving in 1043. After that, as Rafn says, he wedded Elizabeth, daughter of Javoslav, king of the Warings and Duke of Russia, and became king of Norway. If so, this was the Harold who made an inroad on England in the time of our King Harold, the son of Goodwin.

This marble lion here spoken of was by the Venetians taken to Venice, and is there to be seen near the gate of the arsenal. Rafn reads the runes, "Hake with Ulf, Asmund, and Orn, took this haven. These men and Harold the Tall laid heavy fines on account of the revolt of the Greeks. Dalk remained a bondsman in far lands, Egil had gone with Ragnar to (Roumania) and Armenia." However, these runes may well be read over again, and if by some Englishman at Venice, so much the better.

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Rafn says that the Waranghian guard was sent on several expeditions. Of those to Lydia and Phrygia we have already written. It was sent to Asia and the eastern borders of the empire, to Iberia or Caucasia, and against the Saracens in Sicily and Apulia. We know that in 1034 and 1035 the Waranghian guard wintered in the west of Asia Minor, Lydia, and Phrygia.

In 1040 the Bulgarians rose against the emperors, and headed by Delean moved towards the town of Thessalonica, in which the Emperor Michael the Paphlagonian then was, but on their coming he fled to Constantinople. Delean then marched against Epirus and Achaia, and took Dyracchium and many other strong towns in the south and in Greece.

In 1103 the Waranghians were quartered at Bafi in the island of Cyprus as the English now are in that town, and Eric, king of Denmark, died there. (Rafn, Antiquités de l'Orient, pp. xii. xxxii.)

The twelfth century brought the Warings and English into fight with their old foemen, the Normans. Robert Gaiscard Duke of the Normans in Sicily, landed in Albania, and began the siege of Dyracchium. Alexius Comnenus marched to its relief, and the main strength of his host consisted of Waranghians, supported by Franks and Latins. A bloody fight took place before Dyracchium, and the English, burning to revenge the overthrow of their fathers at Hastings, led the vanguard, making a deep impression with their battle-axes on the Calabrians and Lombards. The duke and his wife rallied their Norman horse, and striking the Waranghians on their left flank, which the Greeks had left uncovered, turned the fate of the day. Dyracchium, however, held out for seven months, when it was taken by Robert, but the Waranghians still defended the country with their weakened body. Again they had another loss by three hundred of the guard being overtaken by the Normans in the town of Castovia. In the end, however, the Normans had to give way. In thankfulness for the endeavours of the Waranghians, Alexius gave them a domain, said to be called Baringa, or Varinga. This is in

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my belief, Wranya or Wranja, in the seat of the late war, some way between Petrina and Cobja, and also taken of late by the Austro-Hungarians.

The head of the Waranghian guard was a great officer of the court of Constantinople, who was called the Akolyth. In the defence of that town against the Latin Crusaders it is said that the steadfast hope of the Greek Emperor was in the strength of the Waranghians, with whom Norsemen were then mixed. The guard made a brave defence, but the city was given up to a rival Greek emperor and to the Latins. The Latin ambassadors made their way to the palace of the Emperor Comnenus through the streets lined on both sides with the battle-axes of the Waranghian guard.

At an after time they were entrusted with the keeping of the hoard of treasure left by the Emperor Vataces. These they guarded in a strong castle on the banks of the River Hermus in Asia Minor, most likely that near Ninfi, seen by many of us.

It was by the help of the Waranghians that the crown was given to the Emperor Michael Palæologus, and set on his head in the cathedral of Nice, after which he went with them to Constantinople.

In following up the Waranghian history, we know that Englishmen from time to time entered the Waranghian guard. We know too that among the Condottieri of Italy, Sir John Hawkwood for one, the English also had a great share. It is therefore likely that this had some connexion with the Waranghian enlistments; such adventurers would no longer have gone by Russia, but rather by the better known way of Italy, and so to Dyracchium, or straight to Constantinople in the ships of the Venetians.

It may be well before ending with the Warings to speak of the Rugi or Rugii again, to whom I attribute near kinship with the Warings, a share in the settlement of Britain, and the beginning of the names of Russian and Russia.

It has been stated that Beda names them (Book V. chap. ix.) next after the Frisians. The references have been given to

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Tacitus, Ptolemy, Ammianus, Jornandes, and Paulus Diaconus, all of whom show their neighbourhood to the great Suevian folk, the English, Carini, Warings, Frisians, Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, and Lombards. In Kelly's Appendix to Karamsin's Russia he speaks of Prætorius saying that Alaric and his Gothic followers were kings of the Rugians, and of Procopius giving the name of Goths to the Rugians.

Among the sources of English history those that are most commonly acknowledged are—

First, Chronicles and histories with lives of saints.

Second, Charters.

Third, Linguistic materials, as gospels, rituals, tales.

Fourth, Archæological remains.

To these must be added, as fifth, the names of places in England.

Although Kemble has made great use of these latter, and they have been applied for illustration by many writers, they have not been so fully adopted as might be looked for. The ground is this, that there is no book of the whole names to be had. The list of the names of the parishes is the least useful, for many of these names are those of saints. In indexes to the Census more are to be found, as the names of townships are there given.

The truth is, that to get at anything like a good set of names the Ordnance Survey must be looked over and indexed. This is hard work, calling for much time, and which few men can or will give. However, I was led to do so some years ago, and some of the results then found will be here given.

Even this is not all that has to be done, for the names of hills and even of fields* have to be looked into and set down.

Thus it may readily be believed that a hundred thousand names are to be had.

Though we may not think much about the names of townships and hamlets around us, they tell their own tale. When

* Mr. G. Lawrence Gomme has most usefully taken up this portion of the investigation of the names of fields.

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we go into Cornwall or Wales we find they have their own names, and these are not English. In the eastern shires of the island the names are not the same as the Welsh and the Cornish, but yet there are many who believe that the names in England must be made up of Welsh words. Names then have their own ethnological, and therefore historical worth.

The names of some great rivers, however, are found of the same kind throughout the islands; but in England many streams have English names, as Winterbourne, for a stream that runs only in the winter, Blackwater, Ravensbourne, Millbrook, and so on, and in Ireland we have the Blackwater.

All the other names are reckoned as Celtic, and some of them are so; but there must be others which are not Celtic for we find them in other than Celtic lands.

Thus we find Tamesis, Tamarus, Tamion, Sabrina, Senus, Tobius, Tava, Cenio (Kenio), Isca.

These may be thus compared :—

Tamesis—Themis, *Sardinia.*

Tamarus—Tamara, *Spain;* Tamyras, *Syria;* Tamarus *India;* Tamar, *New Granada.*

Tamion—Temala, *India;* Temoin, *Mexico.*

Tava, Deva—Tavis, *Italy;* Deva, *Spain;* Tava, *India.*

Sabrina—Iberus, *Spain and Caucasia;* Siberis, *Caucasia;* Sapara, *India.*

Senus—Asinarus, *Italy;* Sonus, *India;* Sinus, *New Granada;* Arsinus, *Greece;* Tokasannus, *India.*

Adurnus—Aternus, Vulturnus, Saturnius, *Italy.*

Tobius—Solduba, *Spain;* Attabas, *India.*

Cenio, Kenio—Khanes, *Albania;* Kainas, *India;* Cane, *New Granada.*

Isca—Axius, *Macedon;* Abaskus, *Pontus;* Æscus, *Mœsia.*

The "T" in Tamesis, &c., and the "S" in Sabrina, are undoubtedly prefixes, which serve to determine the great antiquity of the forms. They bear witness, indeed, that these islands were held by the earliest races, long before what we are accustomed to consider the infancy of civiliza-

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tion, long before those epochs of civilization which have been forgotten by us and are now pre-historic. Thus many races have left some impress in these islands on the woods, and on the monuments, but such do not necessarily denote a continuous descent. In many cases they only suggest races which have been antagonistic to each other, and of which the conquerors have exterminated the conquered.

Some of the oldest names of towns, also, for which Celtic meanings have been made out, as also Britannia and Hibernia seem not to be Celtic, but to belong to the older class.

Thus the names of some great rivers and towns were taken by the English in the same way that they were by the Welsh, and without their exercising a Celtic influence. It may indeed be that in some great towns, as London, speakers of Latin remained as well as speakers of Welsh.

It has been believed by many that the Romans remained in a body in the towns, and that they became the masters of the English, and taught them Roman laws. They could not have taught them the Latin tongue, nor the worship then held by the Romans, for Christianity was brought in among the English not from Romans in Britain, but from the Franks. It may also be seen that very few of the towns taken by the English bear their Roman names, but they became "chesters," "boroughs," and "fords."

It is also to be borne in mind that the English looked down upon the Romans as in every way lower than themselves, and they would be more ready to teach the Romans than to learn anything from them. It is therefore very unlikely that the Romans gave laws or anything else to the English besides such lands and goods as the latter could take with their strong hands. We must not, therefore, give a Roman meaning for our names, nor a Celtic meaning, if we wish to get at the true bearing of the words.

If we first of all look to Ireland, then we find Irish names, unless some few in the neighbourhoods where Danes or English settled. If we look to Cornwall we find Welsh. In the west in Wales we have Welsh names, only in Mon-

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mouth and Gower have we many English. Now Ireland we know to have been Irish, Cornwall to have been Cornish, and Wales to have been Welsh; why then are we to make out England to have been anything else but English? Only from not knowing how to go straight, or from not liking to do so.

The names of townships in England show, on the whole, that they were given by Englishmen, for even where the few Latin or Welsh names are to be found, they are in an English shape or in an English setting.

We must, therefore, take them to be English, and see what they tell us. They tell us, indeed, that they were given by the English, and not by the Welsh, nor taken from the Welsh, that the Welsh cannot have been living among the English as freemen, and that the English cannot have taken the Welshwomen as wives, but Englishwomen.

The pride of blood must be borne in mind in England in those days, as elsewhere. An English lady was given as a wife to a Welsh king, as was done on the mainland when anything was to be got by it, but short of that Englishwomen were not given to heathens, nor would Englishmen wed such so long as they could get English wives. Where men wed women of other blood the children learn the tongue of the mothers rather than of the fathers. When the Franks and the Normans mingled with the Welsh in Gaul, then their children took to a Latin tongue. So in Spain with the Goths, and in Lombardy with the Lombards. The Goths died out in Spain, but where the Lombards kept together in Lombardy their townships to this day have a northern tongue.

The English in Britain in the first days must have been as they were in America, in Africa, or in Australia. In New England and Virginia the land was full of Indians, as Africa is of Caffres. The rivers in America are often known by Indian names, but the settlements are English; so rivers in Africa have African names, but the townships are named by the Hottentots and English. In Australia many rivers have

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Australian names, but the holdings mostly take English names, and where the names are Australian they can be readily marked out.

In New England the dealings of the English with the Indians have been those of trade in peace, but mostly of war, and there are very few half-breeds. We must go to the north-west for half-breeds, where the French and Scotchmen spent free in the wilderness and lived with the Indian women. In Natal, though the Caffres survive, and though they work for the settlers, and even live among them, they live apart; the English seldom speak Caffre, and the Caffres but little English.

The same law is to be found at work elsewhere. Thus, in Turkey, some of the rivers and the great towns have old names, but the others throughout are Turkish. Where a Greek township or hamlet has been left it has its Greek name for its own dwellers, and they give Greek names to the neighbouring towns.

Where, however, as in many parts of Europe, there are great bodies of Slavs, Greeks, and others, then the old names are to be found, and very few Turkish names, and even these have to live together with a Slav or a Greek name, or even with both, for each gives its own name.

The chief collections of materials for the study of local English names are the indexes of the Census for the several periods. These have become more and more copious, but are still insufficient.

The index to the Census of 1841 affords about 28,000 names for this island, for which the English share may be two-thirds, the Celtic names being the remainder, and they too being insufficiently provided. The Irish index is separate, of little use for English reference, but very valuable for the study of the Irish names; but that also is inadequate for furnishing all the results in that department.

The index to the Census of 1851 forms a small folio book of 288 pages, but holding no more names than that of 1841, for although fuller as to some shires than that of 1841, it

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leaves out the names of townships and hamlets given in 1841. So, too, as to after indexes.

However large these 20,000 names may seem, yet they are only a small share of the whole, not one-tenth, and they do not give all the most characteristic words and forms; I therefore worked over the greater part of the Ordnance Survey; but then there is a world beyond in the parish surveys, only some of which have come under my eye. In these, however, as has been said, are names of farms and fields, and natural objects of much interest. The number of names to be carefully sifted must be a million.

Then another work is to be done with the Welsh names, and a good one it would be for some Welsh antiquarian society, for it would add much to the knowledge of the history and language of Wales.

The materials to be found in Cornwall have not been worked out enough, and would tell us more as to Cornu-British. The materials yielded by Scotland are still more worthy of being worked up, because there the two Celtic branches, the Welsh and the Irish, were in contact, and there we know that some Welsh names were afterwards altered to Irish forms. A light would be thrown both upon Welsh and Irish, and perhaps on the subject of the Picts. What Irish names may yield no one can foretell, for they may reveal to us more of lost history than even those of Wales. The toil of such researches is great, for not only must every word be recorded and classified, but even its component parts; for some forms are so rare—hill forms for example—that we may not find one in a hundred thousand names. My own collections do not comprise less than a hundred thousand names, but yet it is easy to see how much is wanted.

Then the whole of the comparative names are needed. Thus for English, the whole of Germania, reaching into Holland, Flanders, Normandy, Burgundy, Switzerland, Lombardy, and the whole lands of the Norsemen.

For Celtic we want all France thoroughly searched, and its names brought together, also the north of Italy, and Celtic

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names in Spain. In this way is perhaps to be sought and found the key of the Ligurian puzzle, it may be some deeper knowledge of Basque, and of the Basque question in England and Ireland.

There is not alone the history of the Aryan migrations which will be lighted up, but that of those earlier dwellers, Basques be they, Iberian of whatever kind, some perhaps of darkest time, dwarfs and other beings, of whom the only mention now is in lingering elfin legends.

While speaking of comparative materials we must not leave out those which we have in the early charters, in Domesday Book, and in charters of the middle time, and wherein we follow names for a thousand years. France and Italy are not less rich in charters.

It may be here remembered that some laws as to local names will be found everywhere, for I have shown that the English and the Turks followed the same law as to the names of ruined and empty towns; and we may find the same in Welsh or Irish, and still further back in Basque, and among the oldest the record of the "old men" may nevertheless yet be found.

As we now stand, the indexes to the Census remain the best handbooks of reference, because the names are alphabetized. Gazetteers, English or German, however great, give us but little. Still it must be borne in mind that these indexes are but the smallest part of what we need, and that it is only by chance they give us any information at all as to some branches. Thus they are the names of dwellings, and it is only collaterally that they refer to natural features..

Thus in the Census of 1841, strangely enough, there is no Cold Harbour, and there is no Windy Harbour, no Julian Bower, no Coney Gore, no Bunker's Hill. The same is to be said of the Census of 1851, and yet the list of Cold Harbours alone is above a hundred, and the whole branch of archæological investigation applies to these.

The alphabetical indexes do not bring out the whole matter, for they only give the beginning syllables, whereas

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the endings are of no less weight and meaning, and sometimes serve to lead to or determine the nature and class of the word.

There has been an endeavour of the compilers of the Census to do more; for in 1851 they put forth a most laborious table of the proportions in each shire of the endings in *ton*, *ham*, *worth*, *thorpe*, *by*, &c. This plan was admirable in its intention, but the results are of small worth, as the table is grounded on the analysis of the names of parishes and of some townships alone, and does not bring in the whole. Sometimes we find a hamlet or homestead with such an ending as *ton* or *worth*.

There is another matter connected with the history of the English of which we know little, and that is their names. The compilers of the registration reports have endeavoured to do something on this head. Thus we know there are hundreds of thousands of the name of Jones, Smith, Brown, &c. We know that many bear the names of trades, many of townships and hamlets; many have English, Christian, and Jewish names.

Some of these names we can follow for several hundred years, for we find them in the same townships. There are, however, names which have the look of being the same as those borne by the English in the very earliest times, and which may have been handed down.

We may set it down safely that in many southern English shires, although wasted by the Danes, there are still to be found the offspring of these clans which first settled there.

Although I shall give some illustrations in detail of the results to be obtained, besides a summary of the general results, my main end is to call attention to this branch of inquiry, because it is one which can yield the most and has been worked the least. The work is so paltry in some eyes, and so hard, that few may care to undertake it. On the other hand, smaller and younger workers may give their minds and hands to this, assured that if they do not earn

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much popular applause, they may yet make some new, and it may be useful and important discovery, which may strengthen them for greater endeavours.

In truth, many an historian and inquirer has profited by these matters; but the whole work is so great, that many must undertake it, and in each kingdom. William von Humboldt employed this method for his researches on the Basques, which, although we can now find misleadings in it and shortcomings, is the groundwork of much knowledge and many researches as to that people. To Kemble, Hartshorne, and many others, these researches have been of the greatest help. In many cases, too, there are to be found in county histories valuable illustrations of this kind.

The results of my investigations of the English local names may be thus summed up:—

First.—The local names are of Germanic, that is to say, of English root, unless so far as they are interfered with by Danish names, which are also Germanic; and when they lie near the Welsh borders, they are mixed with or bounded by Welsh names.

Second.—That names only exceptionally include prehistoric names, as in the case of some few of the rivers, and perhaps towns, and some of the camps, Agaw or Akhaian, or Iberian, or Khita.

Third.—These names include, either in whole or in part, very few old or new Welsh, Belgian, or Latin roots, except that the names of some rivers are Welsh, of some few towns Welsh, and of some few Latin or Roman.

Fourth.—A portion of the names hitherto admitted to be of Celtic classification, or of pre-English form, such as Winchester and Colchester, are assumed to be so on wrong grounds, and must be looked upon as English.

Fifth.—The endeavour to explain the etymology of English places by Welsh or Latin roots is altogether wrong, and must not be allowed by the historian.

Sixth.—The names are in the main old, given by the first English settlers who took the land in the same way as was

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done and is still done by Englishmen in America, Australia, or South Africa.

Seventh.—The names of dwellings show a wide spreading of the English over the land at such time of occupation, the distribution being nearly as wide as now; for though homesteads have grown to be hamlets, townships, or towns, and the whole population has grown too, yet the distribution has, generally speaking, not been altered, and the process which has gone on in New England since its settlements went on in Old England.

Eighth.—No body of Roman folk could have lived among the English at the time of naming, or as here stated of settlement, because the names of the Roman settlements were not kept up, and even great Roman towns took the homestead or clan name of a single English settler.

Ninth.—The assumption of an historical sect that the English, Saxon, or Germanic settlement was effectually made during the Roman empire in Britain is a fallacy, for then, as in the last article, the towns would have kept their Roman forms. This would have been so in the shires that were called the Saxon shires, and where there were Roman strong towns and castles held against the Saxons.

Tenth.—The Romans must have settled the land as thickly as it was settled by the English and is now settled, for not only do Roman roads, walls, dykes, and remains show this, but the names of such towns, hamlets, castles, camps, roads, wells, and other vestiges of occupation.

Eleventh.—The topography of Roman roads and settlements in Britain is to be made out by the evidences of name as safely as by that of coins and foundations, and the Roman names must have been more numerous than is thought, and reach far beyond *Chester*, and those commonly ackowledged.

Twelfth.—That when the English settled, the Roman towns, hamlets, homesteads, castles, camps, roads, bridges, and other establishments must have been in ruins, having been wasted by the Welsh after the fall of the Romans and the wars with the Scots, Picts, and roving Saxons.

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Thirteenth.—That friendship, alliance, or intercourse did not generally prevail between the Romans in Britain and the English invaders, and that the English could not have taken their municipal institutions from the Romans.

Fourteenth.—That the Romans in Britain were not of whole Roman blood, but were Welsh, and men from all over the world mixed up together, and that such mixed blood died out, helped by the spread of Christianity, and by the Romans becoming priests, monks, and nuns, besides the sending away of men for wars in Gaul, and the loss of life in the home wars against the Welsh and others.

Fifteenth.—The English did not favour Roman bishops, priests, and nuns, but slaughtered them when they could get hold of them.

Sixteenth.—Where a Celtic folk lived and held its own, the evidences are shown by the names. In Wales the names are wholly Welsh, unless where there was an English or Rhenish settlement. In Cornwall are to be found full Cornish names, very many English, and some Flemish.

Seventeenth (First and Third again).—On the other hand, in the English shires of the island Welsh names are wanting.

Eighteenth.—During the time that the commonwealths were being set up in Kent, the South Saxons, the South Rick, the Middle Saxons, the East Saxons, the North Folk and the South Folk of the East English, Northumbria, Lindsay, the Middle English and the West Saxons, the Welsh folk did not dwell among them as friends or allies. Had it been so the names of places would have been communicated by the Welsh to the English, as by the Roman Gauls to the Franks. Such was not so in Britain. Even in North and South America and Australia, aboriginal names are greatly preserved by the invaders. The Welsh folk could not have dwelt within or near the English marks, *gaus*, or townships, as allies or brother settlers, either generally or throughout the land, or in any shire, as is commonly held by some writers. In towns on the borders in after times there would be some Welsh who would live in their

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own street or ward of the town in their own way. Such is seen all over the world, as in the Irish rookeries of England, Scotland, and America. Such is no proof of intermarriage or of general social intercourse.

Nineteenth.—The Welsh did not dwell within the borders of the old English Commonwealths as free men, but only in the later times. They might have been left as serfs or bondsmen, or as miners, the English leaders becoming lords of the land, as was done by other Germanic tribes in the Roman empire. In Britain, as Kemble shows, the town lands belonged to the commonwealths, great and small, and did not come under lords of manors until after times. Had the Welsh men and women been left as serfs, then too the names would have been handed down in Welsh by them; so too, would they, had the Welsh been kept as house thralls. The names, however, are English, and this is against the theory.

Twentieth.—The settlers did not want for women of their own blood, for the Englishwomen could sail in the same keels as their fathers and brothers, as was done under the Pilgrim Fathers, and as is now done. Had the women been too few, then the English would not have taken heathen women as wives, any more than they did in America or in Africa. Had they done so, then too the Welsh names would have been kept, even if their offspring did not become a Welsh-speaking folk. In Russia the Warings and English did in the end take Slav wives, their children gave up their fathers' speech, and they were swallowed up by the Slavs. All was and *is* Slav. In Britain the law was otherwise.

Twenty-first.—It is therefore a vulgar error to uphold that the English of the earlier times or of this day are greatly mixed with Roman or Welsh blood, for there is nothing to show this is true, and everything against it. Even to this day the English do not take wives from the rookeries of London and Manchester, and the Irish wed with their own women.

Twenty-second.—It is put forward against the English

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settlement in Britain having been made, as believed, by the English themselves, that unless it happened before the Roman downfall, and unless the English and Welsh lived together, the small numbers of men coming from Jutland, within the time given by the Saxon Chronicle, could not have filled the land. For this, however, we have a measure. At the taking of Quebec by Wolfe the whole number of French in Canada was about thirty thousand, and a hundred years after it was three quarters of a million without immigration. In New England the number of people sprung from those who settled two hundred years ago is very great, and there are many clans of such old settlers. On the other hand, the whole number of Welsh in Britain is now about seven or eight hundred thousand, and of English in England and Scotland twenty times as many. In Britain the Welsh were cut up by war among themselves, and with the Scots, Picts, and Sea-kings. In France and Italy the people were thicker, so that the Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards were widely spread, and kept the people they found to till the land, which had not gone out of tillage as in Britain.

Twenty-third.—The wars between the Welsh and their English invaders were kept up for hundreds of years in Britain, and the Welsh showed a bold front and ever fought stoutly, so that even in the wars of the Roses they sent a body of their own men to uphold Henry of Richmond. Unless in Brittany where we have the like, it was not so in Gaul and Italy. In Britain it was not safe to keep Welsh, either free or bond, within the borders of the English marks, for fear of their helping their own kindred. Any bondsmen taken in war could only safely be sent to Jutland and worked there, or sold in the East Sea or Black Sea. The Saxon Chronicle tells that the English invaders slaughtered the Welsh in the towns. If, too, the English brought their own wives with them, the wives would not allow their husbands to keep Welshwomen as wives, or to have children by them, but such women would be held as house thralls only; any half-breeds of Welsh would be outcasts and born thralls. Thus all political considerations

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favoured the expulsion and extinction of the Welsh within the English bounds.

Twenty-fourth.—The way in which the population of invaders was spread and scattered about confirms the teaching of Kemble and others, that the English held the country with scattered homesteads, depending for food mainly on the pasturage of cattle and swine in the open lands and in the neighbouring woods.

Twenty-fifth.—The names of the distinct habitations are commonly expressive of the settlement of an individual, and consist, as in Australia and Turkey, either of family or individual names, with an ending, such as *ton*, *ham*, *thorp*, *stead*, *stow*, &c., or of the names of the natural features of the country, &c., compounded with a personal name, or else of an indication of a Roman settlement so compounded.

Twenty-sixth.—The proportion of such Romanized names is much larger than has been thought, some of those believed by Kemble and myself at one time to be clan names being perhaps inflexions of Romanized terms, as Holling, Ridding, &c.

Twenty-seventh.—The population consisted of tribes, clans, or families, speaking several dialects, and notably there was the distinction between *ch* and *k*, as in the commonly known forms of *church* and *kirk*. The latter has now become the northern English dialect, and the former the southern.

Twenty-eighth.—The south was not wholly taken up by the southern spoken dialects, nor the north by the northern spoken dialects, which are found mingled in the same shires, as *chester* and *caistor*, *wich* and *wick*.

Twenty-ninth.—The inroads were not made, as is commonly said, by a nation of East Saxons in Essex, and of East English in Norfolk and Suffolk, but, as said by Bede, the invaders were made up of many nations and tribes intermixed; though the league which invaded Essex may have been headed by Saxon leaders or by Saxon clans.

Thirtieth.—Although at a later time these dialects grew up, as Kentish, Oxfordshire, &c., yet in the beginning the invaders spoke the dialects they brought with them.

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Thirty-first.—The invaders did not include, to any extent, the High Dutch, or other inferior tribes of the Germanic kin, nor any Fin or Slav tribes, but were mainly taken from the kindred Anglo-Suevian tribes.

Thirty-second.—The tribe, family, or clan names are not so strongly marked as Kemble laid down, and for their full and ultimate determination a better knowledge must be had of the Romanized and other names in England and in Germania.

Thirty-third.—The common names of the English folk in the early times were the same as those now in being of the like type, as Bull, Moon, Brown, Sharp, &c.

Thirty-fourth.—The invaders spread through the land in the way laid down in the Chronicle, by battle after battle, and by driving forward their boundaries, and not by the mere annexation or absorption of a Germanic or a friendly Welsh population.

Thirty-fifth.—A population of one and the same kind, but by inroads following each other, filled up Middlesex and the Southrick, or Surrey, and the Northfolk and the Southfolk between each of which striking likeness of nomenclature is to be found.

Thirty-sixth.—The nomenclature bears witness of epochs. In the shires said in the Chronicle to have been first settled, a system of nomenclature holds, mainly grounded on clan names, but in the shires recorded as having been afterwards occupied, as on the borders of Northumbria, for instance, the system of nomenclature is found to undergo modifications.

Thirty-seventh.—These modifications of structure afford an historical test of the time of invasion and occupation of the several districts, and they are commonly found to conform with the Chronicle.

Thirty-eighth.—This evidence shows that the Northumbrian inroads spread over much of the lowlands of Scotland, and at an early time; and confirms the other facts as to this population being English, and to be held as of English stock, and not of Welsh or Irish stock.

Thirty-ninth.—The old names bear witness that the in-

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vaders held the worship of Weden, or Woden, the god of the fathers of the English.

Fortieth.—The names show that the holders of the sect of Wedenites were stronger in the oldest and southern shires, and the sect of Thurites, or Thorites, strongest in the north and under the Danelaw.

Forty-first.—The Chronicles show us that all the kings of the English were held to spring from the kin of the god Weden.

Forty-second.—Among the oldest names there is nothing to show that any Christian institutions were acknowledged by the English invaders, as it would have been had the Romans or Welsh dwelt among them as friends or allies, or in frankpledge as happened in Gaul.

Forty-third.—The influence of Christian names on the topographical nomenclature is late, according to the accounts given of the spread of the Roman Church among the English.

Forty-fourth.—Many names said to be Christian, as Preston, held to mean Priesttown, are so classified in error, and are of older time than the starting of Christianity in England.

Forty-fifth.—Evidences of Danish settlement are to be found in the lands under the Danelaw.

Forty-sixth.—As the early Danes were most likely English, many words held to be Danish may be rightly taken as English.

Forty-seventh.—As, too, the Danish settlements were greatly where the northern dialect was spoken, allowance must be made for this, and many names of northern pronunciation may be English as well as Danish, if not rather English.

Forty-eighth.—Taken altogether, the weight of the Danes in topographical nomenclature was less than is assumed, and it may be the abiding influence of the Danes on the population was less than that generally claimed for them.

Forty-ninth.—Topographical nomenclature records the presence of the Normans. The general nomenclature remained the same, but additions were made to it. These consist of the names of manor-houses and farmsteads, and also of the

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addition to such and to township names of the names of Norman manorial holders. This epoch did not last long. On the other hand, many Normans took English names.

Fiftieth.—The statement as to the coming in of Flemish settlers in the Norman times, and that they seated themselves together in small bodies, is shown in Devon, Cornwall, and South Wales.

Fifty-first.—The nomenclature of Pembrokeshire and other English lands in Wales bears witness of English nationality, or of Norman and Flemish share in the settlement.

Fifty-second.—In what is commonly known as the Anglo-Saxon times, the English held to their own names, and Hebrew, Roman, and heathen names, as John, Peter, &c., are seldom to be met with in the topographical nomenclature. At a later time we get such names, and thus new farms are marked by the names of their owners, reaching down to a very late day.

Fifty-third.—In the coal mining townships, where rows of cots are built up from time to time, we find new names taken from later history, as Gibraltar, Porto Bello, Waterloo.

Fifty-fourth—The names of the Walloons and of the French refugees are not found, for they came into the land when it was chiefly settled. It should be set down that the Walloons formerly many in the eastern shires, can now hardly be found, having died off. Such, too, has been the lot of the offspring of the French refugees; those whom we find with French names are English in blood.

Fifty-fifth.—The nomenclature being the representative of historical events, permits a system of chronological classification to be set up, and thereby affords by its re-application a means of historical test.

Fifty-sixth.—The name of *King*, as in Kingston, is not found in the earlier times, nor is there evidence that in those days there were such magistrates or functionaries, with prerogatives as understood in modern times, and with assigned land revenues.

Fifty-seventh.—In the earliest times, as shown by Kemble,

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the lands belonged to the commonwealth of freemen in the marks, gaus, or townships, and it was not until a later time that kings got power and revenue.

Fifty-eighth.—The like is to be said as to the evidence of townships belonging to bishops, abbots, and lords of manors, but of such names many are to be found after the Danish wars had reached their height, and whereby the old municipal and township institutions had fallen, and, in the confusion, the king, the church, the earls, and the great men laid hold of the dominion and property of the lands belonging to the people, who were thus made to work the lands, not for themselves, but for the new lords, although many old laws still lingered.

Fifty-ninth.—The topographical nomenclature of the English shires in Britain is like that of the districts held by their kin in Germania, as shown by a wide examination of names. There were no Welsh there, and it was only afterwards that Slavs came in, and where they did we find Slav words.

Sixtieth.—Even as to the names found in the neighbourhoods of Roman towns, as they are found in Britain to be the same as those found in the few Roman stations in Germania, and were brought from there by the English.

Sixty-first.—There is no evidence of Roman or Welsh influence abiding among the English during their invasion of Britain, and operating on the English people, but the evidence is the other way, and that the English in Britain were the same as the English and their kin in Germania.

Sixty-second.—The like names and the like clan names as in England are to be found in the Netherlands and Flanders, showing that the clans were near at hand to Britain, and that besides those who came from Jutland, they could sail from every shire with a day's sail to the East English, to Kent, to the South Saxons, and to Wight, and that by this way they could readily reach the West Saxons.

Sixty-third.—The clan names in the Traveller's Song and in the old writings can to this day be found throughout Jutland, Germania, the Netherlands, Flanders, and England, showing the common beginning.

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VI. To show how minutely and how thoroughly a local impress of the same kind is to be found over England, nothing better can perhaps be taken than the words Cold Harbour, of which we have many examples, of which we know something, on which much has been written, and the full meaning of which is still doubtful.

All over England is this name to be found, and further in Cornwall, in Flintshire, in Radnorshire, and on the Welsh border. It is also to be found in Germania.

A good list of Cold Harbours is to be found in the "Salopia Antiqua" of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., a work of great research. He bestowed great labour in determining the sites of the Cold Harbours, by the examination of the writings of those who have described them, by very careful examination of the Ordnance and other surveys, and of the districts traversed by the main Roman roads in England. By these means he was enabled to detect the existence of about seventy or eighty sites so named. His catalogue gives the situations of the Cold Harbours, showing the roads or other Roman sites on or near which they are to be found. Following up Mr. Hartshorne's work, I found about sixty more, and confirmed his discovery of their being in Roman situations. In southern England I found 129, and in the north not six, though there must be more, and the name was not unknown among the northern English, for there are three in Yorkshire. In Kent, Sussex, and Surrey there are forty-two, and in the kingdom of Wessex there are many. Thus the name is to be found among the southern and earlier English.

The theories as to the meaning and application of Cold Harbours are worth writing down, as showing how much time has been given to a matter which is not commonly known.

First, as to the Celtic etymologies, because there must needs be a Celtic theory for everything in these Islands, and throughout archæology.

Sir R. C. Hoare, in his "Wiltshire," records (vol. ii., pages

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96 & 97) the guess of a friend who found a Welsh meaning for the word. Mr. W. Cuthbert Johnson, in a paper on Cold Harbours read before the Surrey Archæological Society (quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1856, page 104), likewise assigns a Celtic origin for the word. J. P., in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1849, page 32, says that Cold Harbour is *Calwad at Erfau*, which he says means "a call to arms." H. J., in the same volume, page 494, agrees to the word being Welsh, but says it is *Cail ervawr*, "the great fold."

The late Dr. Rimbault suggested that the word is Caerberlarber (*Notes and Queries*). Mr. Francis Crossley, in denial of Dr. Rimbault, says it is *Cul arbhar* (*Notes and Queries*). Each of the six Celtic etymologies is different, and of different and discordant meaning. The Welsh language, like the Hebrew, lends itself to such treatment under loose dealing. So far as seems, no Welshman has had a hand in these several meanings.

Second, as to Latin etymologies, Admiral Smyth, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, printed in the *Archæologia*, said that Cold Harbours being in the neighbourhood of Roman roads, have taken their name from the winding movements of *Coluber*, as the roads which lead up to the Cold Harbours diverge and wind from the main *viaria*. (Admiral W. H. Smyth, *Archæologia*, xxiii., p. 125).

Mr. Benjn. Williams, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries in 1851, says that Cold Harbour is *Culina*, a place where Roman funereal repasts were cooked.

Third, as to English etymologies.

Lye, in his Saxon Dictionary, defines Here-berga *exercitus mansio, statio militaris, tentorium, castrum.* Junius, in his *Etymologicon*, defines it *receptaculum exercitus.*

Somner, in his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, says the like. Sir R. C. Hoare, already referred to, Mr. Fosbrooke, in his "Encyclopædia of Antiquities," p. 520, and Mr. Hartshorne, before quoted, hold to these definitions. Dr. Bosworth, in his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, defined the word "a station or

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standing, where the army rested on their march, a harbour —*Chaucer;* herborow—*Somner.*"

So far all the Anglo-Saxon authorities agree as to the word Harbour, and they can hardly do otherwise, for they are borne out by the meaning in the other Germanic tongues.

The meaning of Cold, as applied in Cold Harbour, is not settled by any of them. By some it is said to mean merely *bleak*, but this does not hold good as to the situation of many of them. Mr. Hartshorne gives to Cold the meaning "open, exposed," but neither does this fit.

Mr. Wedgwood, who holds so high a rank in English etymological studies, says in the second volume of the Philological Society's Reports that the word is Coal Harbour, because the words Coal Harbour in the Tower of London are used by Pepys in his Diary, with the meaning of a Coal Store. Unluckily, there is little likelihood of most of the Cold Harbours being fitted to be Coal, that is charcoal stores, nor can we well conceive so many stores for charcoal. Besides, although sometimes vulgarly made Cole or Coal, it is beyond doubt that the word is Cold in the Germanic languages.

The Rev. Mr. Monkhouse, B.D., P.S.A., published a lecture on Bedfordshire Etymologies, and a tract on Cold Harbours, which latter was read before the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society Nov. 13, 1856. He says that the word is Cold *Heortbur*, and that it means the Stags bower or hiding-place, a place of cool shelter in hot weather. There is no authority for such a spelling, nor is it likely that the harts should haunt rather Roman camps, or places near roads or close to towns.

The fourth point is as to the occupation or destination of these Cold Harbours, on which the ideas of some have been already shown.

It will have been seen that those who adhere to English etymologies mostly hold that they were at the highest settlement, *camps* or *military stations*, but not necessarily Roman camps, although found in situations also occupied by the Romans. It may be said that where there are camps they

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may have been pre-Roman, and abandoned before the Roman time, or they may have been taken and enlarged by the Romans. To the English, who found them abandoned, they would be the same and they would be named alike.

J. P. (*Gentleman's Magazine* for 1849, page 32) attributes to them a military use, as *beacon* or *alarm posts*. Some may have been like the Toot Hills or Tot Hills, of which there are many. Mr. Benjamin Williams, in his communication to the Society of Antiquarie's, denominates them Kitchens, places where Roman funereal repasts were cooked. H. J., (*Gentleman's Magazine* for 1849, page 494) looks upon them as cattle or sheep folds, but then the word Cold is inconsistent. Mr. Monkhouse, at page 10, while thinking that the stags used them, believes they may also have been cattle-folds. Mr. Wedgwood's Coal Store has been already spoken of.

The word Cold is plainly Cold, and no other word for it is so found in the Netherlands, being there Koude Herberge, and in Germany Kalte Herberge. Cold is used to other words besides Harbour in England and in Germania, and some of these are Roman sites. This prefix Cold is found in Northumbria and the northern shires. A curious thing is that a form in Chil is found, which appears to belong to this class. Harbour is of course found south and north, Bower is found alone, without Hare being put before it. A curiosity is the form in Wind or Windy, which seems rather to be northern, as Cold and Chil are southern. In Lancashire alone there are six Windy Harbours, and no Cold Harbours. Thus we have Windy Harbour (= Cold Harbour), Windy Hill (= Cold Hill, Coles Hill), Windridge (= Coldridge), Coldwell (=Chilwell), Coldworth (= Chilworth), Coldton, Colton (= Chilton), Coldford (= Chilford), Colesworthy (= Chilworthy), Coldwick (=Chilwick). The continental forms give the same evidence.

VII. One part of the subject of considerable interest in relation to the question of the relations of the Romans in Britain and the English is that of the names given to Roman establishments.

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Thus we know full well that the name Chester, borrowed from Castrum, means a walled Roman town or military station.

The words found in connexion with Roman establishments are Chester, Borough, Bury, Bere, Ford, Staple, Over, Ware, Hare, Wall, Camp, Wick, Ore, Row, Win or Wind, Wade, Street, Road, Way, Path, Stone, Edge, Ridge, Wool, Holling, Apple, Cock, Bad, Bag, Cold, Yare, Bole or Bolt, Ches or Chis, Hart, Perry or Pury, Shute or Shoot, Maiden, Well.

With the exception of Chester and Street most of these are thorough English words, some relating to army or military, and some to the Roman roads. In their application, however, they refer to Roman sites. There is, however, this to be said, that although the sites to which many of these words are applied are on or near Roman roads or establishments, they are sometimes also to be recognised as at the same time in the neighbourhood of pre-historic sites, camps, or remains.

Many of the places having these names must thus have belonged to the races civilized and uncivilized that occupied Britain before the Romans, and which had towns and roads and mines, and have left behind many remarkable monuments; for the invading English, however, these were all Roman, and belonged to Cæsar, whether pre-historic, Roman, or later Welsh.

With regard to Chester, we have it in the forms, Chester, Cester, Ceston, Caston, Caister or Caster, Castern, and Cetter in England; and on the Continent, of Caster, Ceester, and Casten, while we have this from the Latin Castrum, as so we have the kindred word Castellum, as Castle, and abroad as Castel, Kestel, or Kastel.

Of these Chesters I have compiled a list of eighty-three, and there are besides many *Castles*. About twenty of the Chesters are simply so called without any preservation of the pre-historic or Roman name; then most of the others are equally denuded of the old name; some are Whitchester, Cirenchester, Redchester, Stonechester, Woodchester, Hogchester, Overcester—anything, in fact, but Roman.

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The same thing occurs in Asia Minor. The great towns have names founded on the old pre-historic names, as Smyrna, Magnesia, Iconium, Phocæa, Pergamus, or like our London, &c. In Asia Minor other towns, whether still peopled or abandoned, are named White Castle, Black Castle, Red Castle, Fair Castle, now all identity being lost. Many a once fine city is nothing else but the Old Ruin, Ruinstowe, and so forth.

We are therefore justified in believing that the English did find London and some few towns peopled, although most likely with a small body of Roman monks and Welsh people, and that in such cases these must have been expelled on the town being taken. The names in London show that most of it must have been waste in the times of the early English, and in most towns the walls can only have served as cattle, sheep, and swine folds for the first holders, such buildings as remained after the fires which we know took place, being worked as quarries for stone and brick; wherever the stone was limestone or marble, it went into the limekiln to be burnt for lime, and whenever a small church, castle, or minster was to be built in after times, or the walls to be repaired, the older buildings were drawn upon. Thus year after year, time and the needs of man wore away such of the great remains of the Romans as fire had spared, or which were not overgrown with underwood.

In the shires the Roman towns must have been empty, and the villas and farms burnt by the Welsh and English, although a wall may sometimes have been built into a new house, while a well or spring invited settlement. On the withdrawal of the Romans, and the wars that followed, we know that the whole face of the land was changed. The watercourses, river walls, and milldams they had made were broken, dry land became a swamp, the hedges sprouted up, orchards and gardens grew into woods, and the old woods yearly gained new ground. The new-come English did not keep up a war against nature; they were herdsmen, and not husbandmen. The woods were welcome to them, to shelter their towns and

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hamlets, to feed their hogs, to yield timber for building and firewood, to build boats and ships. They kept up no roads or other works, they were scanty in numbers, and they drove their waggons anywhere. They mended not the broken Roman bridge, for horses and waggons would wade the older ford. Thus many a town, which in Roman times must have had a bridge, bears the name of *ford.*

VIII. A great argument brought against the early history of the English is that the legends are often the same repeated. Palgrave used this largely, and he has been followed by many. Dr. Guest was a champion on this side, and any one who wishes to see them as revived will find them in Mr. Isaac Taylor's pages, and in a paper by Mr. H. H. Howorth on the migration of the Saxons (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. vii., pp. 211, 303, 314). Mr. Isaac Taylor is so fully convinced that the various accounts in the Saxon Chronicle are purely fabulous, that he says (Words and Places, p. 144): "In Essex and Suffolk there is a smaller proportion of Celtic names than in any other district of the island, and this would indicate that the Germanization of those counties is of very ancient date;" of course it indicates that the expulsion of the prior inhabitants was complete.

It is true that Niebuhr did, on grounds of legendary coincidences as much as of legendary improbabilities, set himself to discredit the tales of Rome told by Livy. Such arguments have been employed often and often, for it is far easier to doubt than to believe.

It may be worth while to look about and see how far legend affects history, that is, too, how far legend in itself discredits history.

Taking history generally, whether in the east or the west, legend is commonly interwoven with it. A great man must have a wonderful birth, so must a prophet or apostle. Notwithstanding such wonderful birth, we know that some such men did live. In truth, the legend is the manner in which the fact is told, and it will be found that this manner has its own

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laws, some of them common throughout the world. It is the nature of man so to deal with facts.

One form is this: in the East all old buildings are built by Iskander, and in France by Napoleon, though some of them were in being before Napoleon was born. Cæsar figures in England, though Cæsar means no more than a Roman emperor.

Another well-known form is as to numbers. Few men have an exact knowledge of numbers, even those who think they have. Many is treated in a conventional way. If the plural to be expressed be small, it is three, five, seven, it may be twelve; if larger, it is seventy, a hundred, a thousand, thousands, tens of thousands, a million,—millions come glibly off the tongue. In the use of such numbers no attempt is made to deceive, nor is any one deceived, until in after times such things come to be written down, and then people deceive themselves by trying to give exactness to what was never meant to bear it.

If there be the sacred or conventional number, then, whether in history or fable, there will be three sons, three daughters, three gods, three goddesses, three kings, three queens, three ships, three castles, three river heads, three tribes.

So as to seven; and a town, Rome, London, Lisbon, must be seated on seven hills, and some hill be made to fit in. If there are seven sons, then the seventh son will be endowed with great powers and virtues, and the seventh son of a seventh son will be even mightier in his endowments.

Superstitions as to numbers may have one origin in observance of the abnormities of nature. Five, the number of the fingers and toes, is a mystic number for many things, but sometimes a child is born with six fingers or six toes, and this affection is hereditary; where one such child has natural gifts, or can have them attributed to him, so would the number six in such a family be looked upon as lucky.

If Greek or Albanian brigands are engaged in conflict with Turkish soldiers, then 300 Greeks attack 7,000 Turks with the loss of 1,000 Turks and three Greeks, as is reported in telegram or song, unless it should happen that 700 Greeks beat 3,000

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Turks, or are beaten. The number seven is a nice number to remember.

The legend begins with birth. The kings of the English owed their right to their being the offspring of Weden. Therefore the Anglo-Saxon chronicler had to set forth this title. So in the Homeric poems each king was to be the son of a god. Many real persons were so constituted. First there was the chance of attaching such a fabulous genealogy to some obscure forefather. If the man himself were of obscure or doubtful birth, his known father was suppressed or treated as his putative or foster-father, and a god-like father assigned to him. The true father once set aside, the work was easy, the secret union of a god with the mother, the imaginary visit of a Hercules, or even a bath in a stream or river, was enough. In India a snake can always be seen to be called the father, and it is flattering to a woman that a god or king in the shape of a snake should be believed to be her lover.

Sometimes the mother is set aside, and a goddess, as Thetis, has given to her the motherhood of Achilles, or Venus is brought to earth and made the mother of sons.

The legend was not always without its motive. No chief would give way unless to one of god-like blood, and the sons of the gods held together, whether in Hellas or in Germania, as a fellowship which brooked no lesser member. We have seen how the son of Ruric sacrificed the pretending earls who had dared to make a conquest for themselves in Russia. Thus the god-like blood was the safeguard to legitimate authority. Years ago Queen Victoria must have made good her descent from Weden as the title to be Queen over the English, and the Russian czars would willingly set up a descent from Ruric, and enviously look upon the princely houses which boast his blood.

In some lands the son of the god could alone perform the greatest sacrifices, and so too the kings were hereditary priests, and the priests themselves held hereditary offices. In the same way the Cohenim or offspring of Aaron among the Jews are endowed with the blessing of the congregations on

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the day of the great fast in every year. Then the Cohenim, clad in white robes and seated aloft, stretch forth their hands in mystic form, and bless the throng of rich and poor who sit with bowed heads. Were any one of these, even the wealthiest, who is not a Cohen, to lift his eyes to them in this holy act, then would the lightnings of heaven, which are playing around the Cohen's head, smite him to death. Thus the poor huckster, who is a Cohen, is for some brief moments endowed with god-like prerogative, to which the mightiest among his fellows cannot pretend, and on the morrow he wends him to his stall, and chaffers with the poor and truckles to the rich. So too the poorest Sherif, who claims to be akin to Mahomet, can give a blessing worth more than that of the highest mollah.

It is the Sheikh of Konieh who must be summoned to Stamboul to gird on the new Sultan the sword of Othman.

The people believe in these gifts of blood, handed down from son to sire. It was the test of Stuart kings to touch for the king's-evil, and even in the lowest rank the seventh son of a seventh son is mightiest as a seer.

On the other side, if a woman is a witch she has the devil for a husband, and may have sons and daughters by him.

In the house of Othman and among the Moghul kings we see how the mother of a hero had a wonderful dream, as many a mother has had since. The sun and moon swim into her bosom, a great tree grows from it. Dreams of the slightest shape grow by feeding. When the boy begins to show his daring, the dream ill-remembered has become greater, and none the less precise, nurtured too by the gossips to whom it has been told, and who have grafted of their own upon it, and who tell their tale unchecked when the mother is dead and the son is mighty. Even among ourselves nurses are not wanting in this, the moles on the child's side, the fruit spot, the two crowns on his head, which show that he shall go forth and eat his bread in more than one land,—all these are well-kept omens, which, as said, never grow less, but like the fetishes

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of a man expand with his might, and unlike these die not when he dies.

A prophet or apostle must also have his wonderful birth. He is not to be born of man; or he is made to go through many births, and as a Vishnu or a Buddha will be born again in all time. Thus the lives of saints in all lands have the sameness of incidents, so that the life of a Buddha has served for that of a Christian Saint. It is the duty of the biographer to supply the popular requirements, without which the public deny their belief.

A saint, too, must contend with the devil. Every primitive saint did so, and so it has gone on. Thus St. Dunstan had hardly been dead when his struggles with the evil one were chronicled, and they were most likely known in his lifetime. In later day Luther had his fight, and the scene is shown and became the belief of more than choose to own their belief.

The saint must work wonders and raise the dead to life. This, in our day, the Mormons have done, and it was the best proof of their right, beyond even the Book of Mormon, and won for them many followers in England. An intelligent woman, being in some trance or delirium, believed that she was so recalled by the Mormons from death to life, and though she afterwards gave up the Mormon church she would not give up the merit of being one of the few who had so seen death and life.

Superstitions and legends are always springing up among us. Some are known to be now only a few years old. There are, however, forms of superstition old as mankind, and never dying.

The legend teller and the legend hearer believe alike, and shape the legend between them. There is an unwillingness to give up such food of the mind for drier history, the truthfulness of which none would understand. If a king is wanted to be of God-like birth, then he must be so, and all help to find one. Nay, men will go so far that they will give worship to a Great Lama of Thibet, who may be taken as a babe from

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among their own kindred. In India this homage is transferred to any child whom a childless man or woman may adopt, and adoption is sanctioned to give safeguard against the failure of the kingly line; and the Romans showed equal readiness in adoption. Any one will do for the son of a god or a king rather than that the line should fail, and any putative child is chosen as the heir.

History, in its earlier forms, is the chronicle of human passions and of human belief, whatever its proportion of truth. It is only in a later time that history is strict, critical, and philosophical. The history of a prophet or of a foundling who reigns as the king of an olden house is not, however to be set aside at once, but to be rightly weighed.

What a man may himself believe of himself, and what others may believe about him, is seen in such cases as Perkin Warbeck, the late Duke of Normandy, and the Count d'Albany. When the Count d'Albany appeared he supplied a public want. There were enough smouldering embers of Jacobitism that could be rekindled. For Jacobitism the extinction of the line of the Pretender was a more fatal blow than the defeat of Culloden, and therefore any man willing to disbelieve in his own ancestry, and to imagine himself a changeling was most welcome to many. So far from doubts being thrown on his delusions, they were reserved for those who doubted his assertions. Arthur Orton is more encouragediin his pretensions by the demands of his dupes than by his own inventions. The assertion that he is the butcher and the son of a butcher does not prevent every butcher in England from maintaining that he is a baronet.

If folklore sometimes misreports the past, yet it often creates the future. Many a Greek hero tried to do what the Homeric heroes may or may not have done; so, too, did our forefathers and the Norsemen strive to realize the words sung by the Skald. Thus the aim of the medieval knight was to be the same as the one on whom he modelled himself in the Arthurian romances The chief in the southern seas essays to do what the gods have done in Hawaian or

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Maori songs,—for songs, we know, are sometimes made to form men, as Dibdin wrote to frame sailors after his mould.

In framing the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles it was indispensably necessary that the first leader and all leaders should be supplied with a genealogy from Weden. This was done, and it was desirable he should be invited to come into the land. Therefore this was done by Vortigern, king of the Welsh, as in the Chronicle of Nestor we find the kings of Jutland invited in the same terms to Slavonia. It has escaped notice that Ariovistus gives the same answer to Cæsar ("De Bello Gallico" l. 44). This we may safely take from Cæsar, that Ariovistus said he and his Germans had been invited into Gaul by the Gauls, who had given him territory, "Non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis;" again, "Sedes habere in Gallia ut ipsi concessas." It is alleged by Dr. Thomsen, in his lectures to Rurick, to enter Slavonia is the same as that in Wibbukind's Chronicle addressed by the Welsh to Hengist and Horsa.

The invaders should consist of three tribes, and so they did in the Chronicle of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes, though, as we know, the number could have been readily made three times three. They were to come over in three keels or ships and they did in the Chronicle, and it is not at all unlikely that the fleets of that time, as of aftertimes, sailed in three divisions, as armies had long moved with van, main and rear.

The embellishments of Thongchester, the territory given for a hide, and made out by cutting thongs from the hide, and of Sparrowchester, set afire by the sparrows, are needful. If the existence of three Sparrowchesters in England leads us to doubt if the incident belongs to any one at all, yet all these details give strength to the English character of the narration.

Many of the points which create doubts in a Niebuhr or a Palgrave are the criteria necessary to secure belief in the medieval reader, if we ought not also to say modern reader. The point the historian has to consider is not whether any

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particular detail is false, or the whole body of detail is false, but what is the truth of the main narrative.

It is of very little moment whether Romulus or Remus founded Rome, or whether they fought together, and as little whether the sparrows did set fire to any Sparrowchester. In fact, so far as English history is concerned, the antagonism to legend is only a dependency on greater arguments against the authenticity of the English settlement of Britain, such as the assumption that the people are not English, but Welsh, that the Saxons came and settled the country under the Romans, that it was impossible for the English clans in a few hundred years to people the island.

If, then, the main positions be established as against these assumptions, then the balance is to be given rather in favour of any actual or possible legendary embellishment than against it. As there was no war correspondent to attend Hengist and Horsa on their landing in Thanet, so we are not called upon to profess a belief in the absolute truth of the recital, nor to get up a disbelief in it. We may take it for what it is worth, the best account that exists of a possible event in connection with actual facts, which we can recognise, but of which we have not all the details.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT CHURCHWARDEN ACCOUNTS OF ST. MICHAEL'S, BATH.

By the Rev. CHARLES BUCHANAN PEARSON, A.M., Prebendary of Sarum, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

THE notices which have appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society of the accounts of God's house at Southampton, and other documents of a like nature, have led me to think that some accounts of the churchwardens' accounts preserved in the vestry of St. Michael's, Bath, might prove interesting to the members. Their existence was known only to a few, and as far as I am aware no accurate examination has ever yet been made of them, or if made, not published to the world. I became acquainted with them about a year ago, and gave a short account of their contents to the Bath Literary Club, in consequence of which the members determined to have them copied by a practised decipherer in the British Museum; and the Somerset Archæological Society has undertaken to print portions of them in their Transactions. As these, however, will not circulate much beyond the county, and in many respects the documents in question differ a good deal from any already printed, as far as I have been able to ascertain, I think my paper this evening will not be regarded as a repetition of what is already known.

The earliest churchwarden accounts published are, I believe, those collected by Nichols in 1797. He says in his preface that those of St. Mary Hill, London, are "unparalleled in their kind, and also in point of time (1427) beyond any we have yet heard of;" but those of St. Michael's, Bath, begin in 1349,

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22nd Ed. III., and go down, with occasional years wanting, to 1575, 17th Eliz.

They are 77 in number, 67 Latin and 10 English; written on parchment rolls, some much faded, torn, and stained, but the greater number in very good preservation, and some really beautiful specimens of the writing of the period.

Their peculiarity consists in the fact that the parish possessed considerable property, both in lands and houses, the management of which was entrusted to the Procuratores, who rendered their account yearly, generally on the feast of the 11,000 virgins, Oct. 21. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the wardens received 12d. yearly as a salary; subsequently they seem to have received an honorarium, "pro bono servicio suo," of various amounts. Besides, therefore, the ordinary church expenses, we have frequent notices of building and repairing of houses, which incidentally give data as to the cost of labour, materials, tenure of property and the like, which are of general value. How the property was first acquired does not appear. Edward III. granted the Corporation of Bath a charter, apparently in 1361, and by that charter, it is said by Wood, an early historian of Bath, that certain tenements were made over to the Corporation, with a reserved rent to the Crown, for the reparation of the Church of St. Michael without the Gate, and for the maintenance of the poor of that parish in particular, and of the city generally. He proceeds to enumerate the tenements and give their value. But in 1364 the rents of the parish are set down in the rolls at £2 10s. 8d., which in 1374, *ut patet per rentale eiusdem anni*, was raised to £2 14s. 8d.—exactly the sum which Wood gives as the rental of the tenements in question in 1527. It would seem, therefore, that the Corporation handed over the property to the parish very soon after it was committed to them by the Crown.

In 18th Henry VIII. "it was ordered by the rector and parishioners that the wardens should render an account of all annual receipts on the Lord's day next after the feast of the 1,1000 virgins, under pain of forfeiture to the said church

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of 1-lb. of wax." The rental was reported accordingly, and is quoted in all subsequent accounts as the authoritative return. It is contained among these rolls—there were various tenements, closes, gardens, coppices, stables, cottages, &c., in Walcote, Walcotestrete, Bradestrete, Ffroglane, or Ffrogmerelane (where I understand New Bond Street is now), and Stallstrete. They claimed 12d. yearly for "the rector's tenement in Walcotestrete, called the Rectory." The number of various properties named is 37; the rents of Assise, as they were called, amounting then to £11 18s. 8d., a sum which should be reckoned now at twelve times as much at least, some think fifteen or twenty.

The accounts are systematic in their arrangement under various heads, the amount being added at the foot of each.

1. Arrears. 2. Rents of Assise. 3. Moneys received for various objects. 4. Yearly stated payments. 5. Rents in arrear, or deficient through tenements vacant or otherwise; the amount of which varies of course, but is generally considerable, and the same deficiencies recur in successive years, so that I conceive the debtors were mostly poor, and their rents were not rigorously exacted. 6. Costs and expenses of the church, and of houses belonging to the church. 7. Obits and anniversaries. At the close of many of the rolls there is a list of church goods, and also of articles held in pledge for security of moneys owing. The new wardens are named, specifying the one who is to bear the purse; "and so they depart in peace."

There is always a charge for the expenses of the account which does not vary from 1349 to 1523, and is curious, as we are thus furnished with the cost of the parchment before us, 1d. to 2d.; the pay of a clerk to write the bill, 12d.; 4d. for drink, and 12d. for refreshment.

The clerk was not always a layman; 20d. was paid in 1536 to the Vicar of Stalles for engrossing the account: whoever he was, he did not hesitate to use English if the Latin word did not readily occur, and thus there is a curious medley of phrases, many probably localisms, of which the exact meaning is lost.

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Frequent mention is made of a locality called in 1403 Alleworde, afterwards Alvord, Alford-lane, and ultimately Alford. It was in the vicinity of Boat-stall, or Slippery Lane, where a ferry leading to Bathwick formerly existed. That it lay near the river is shown in 1478, by entry of "3d. given to the bailiff for fine for the water overflowing the road to Alford,"—and "2d. to a labourer for staking and freying the road by the Avon." In 1420 they built a house of some size there, and there was also a "dyynge howse; formerly called horse-mill," held by Robert Batyn of the Church for the life of Isabell Bedford, at 6d. per annum, and a land tax to the bailly of the city of 1½d.*

On one of the closes, *juxta Abbonam*, named Elm-haye, there was evidently a good stock of elm trees, which were felled, sawn up, split into boards and palings, and the chips and hardwood sold and carried to account: occasionally one fell into the river, and had to be "plucked out of the water;" there is notice also of the sale of the pasturage, the "*gras*," the fruit, "*vestura*," of the trees, particularly apples, of loppings, "*tonsura*," of the trees, of stakes, planks, and poles, and even of the *nettles*. In 1400 I find *pro urticis venditis ad Lawrencium Bebbe, 2d.* They had a saw-pit, and all repairs seem to have been executed with their own materials as far as wood was concerned; stone (and other building materials, comprehended under the word *meramium* †) was fetched from Claverton by permission of the Provost, from Farley Hampton, Ynglescumbe, and other quarries. Straw for thatching was got from Charlcombe, Barewyke, and Walcote. Tiles for roofing were stone tiles, such as still exist on some old houses; indeed, in 1463 *tyle-stones* are named,—*pro* 600 *tyle stones dictis*

* 1460 occurs "cotagium Dionysii Dyer, vocatum *Berehowse*." Was this a house in which the *bier* was kept, or was it a *bear house?* anyhow I don't think it was a *beerhouse.*

† There are a multitude of other words referring to building materials, English and Latin,—helme, tessel, spykys, lach-nayles, borde-nayles, hacche-nayles, stroke-nayles, bochelle-nayles, ston-nayles, crestes, serres, asseres-stoffe, rudyng, brekyng, &c., &c.

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tenementis solut, 6s. 8d.; and in 1465, *pro M. petris tegulis*, 6s. 8d. 1479, 20d. for 250 tiles. They were dug in quarries on Lansdown, which perhaps belonged to the Church, as mention is made of their sale,—*pro tegulis venditis* 6s. 8d.

They seem to have carried on a brisk trade in the sale and hiring of brazen jars, *olle enee*, which fetched from 4s. to 6s. 6d., and were hired for a year, or half a year, or less, at 8d. per annum. Thus 4d. *pro redditu unius olle enee locate a dominico Hokke* (*i.e.*, 15 days after Easter) *usque ad Fest. S. Mich. pro dimidio anni.* Lime also was made and sold.

Some of the larger houses had two stories, with interclose, stairs, wood flooring, paved courtyard, and plots of ground round them; they were constructed of rough stone and timber, whitewashed with lime. Cottages apparently had no chimneys, but only smoke-holes.* I conclude they had but one story. The gardens were protected by walls, and also by hedges, for which thorn bushes and stakes were largely bought; what they grew in their gardens does not appear, except that there are several notices of the purchase of green beans,† which were made into pottage on certain occasions."

The particularity and minutiæ of repairs show vigilant care against ecclesiastical dilapidations. Mention is found of 2s. 2d. received at the letting, *locatio*, of the "King's Crown," of Bath, at Swaynswick; and 2s. received at Merffylde,‡ also *hospitium les belly*, in Walcote, is mentioned, probably a hostelry with

* 1430, *in factura de duo smokeholys in domo Wi. Osborne* 3½*d.*

† 1509, *pro duobus bushell viridium fabarum emendis cum factura earundem in potagio*, 8*d.* 1532, 8d. *pro dimidio modeo novarum fabarum.*

‡ John of Tours, the bishop to whom Bath was granted, and who accordingly constituted himself *ex officio* Abbot of Bath (whereby the monks, after having been governed by a resident abbot for about 110, years, were put under priors, subject to the bishop as abbot), gave back to the priors and monks for their maintenance, among other things, "the land of Hugh with the beard, to wit, Claverton, Docne, *Merffield* which is probably Marshfield and Eston."

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the sign "the Bells;" all these, from the rents paid, must have been good houses.

In 1435 the parish possessed a dovecote, held by William Phelpys, who paid 40s. pro fine columbarie, and 2s. rent.

1506. Culver-howse or Coln-howse Close yielded 6s. 2d. rent.

1487. We find xd. pro corona conducta Regi Attumnali isto anno. This the late learned Canon Lysons explained to mean "a coroner's quest held by the King's Attorney," and considered "Attumnali" to be a misreading for "atturnali." This may probably be the true explanation; but the word is the same in two or three other rolls.

1490. 8d. pro corona conducta Regi Attumnali isto anno.

1492. De 8d. receptis pro corona conducta ad Salfford isto anno, et De 12d. receptis de Rege Attumnali pro corona ei conducta isto anno.

9th. Æn. 8 there is a notice of 8s. receptis de servisia facta per Wm. Wodewarde, ad proficium dicte ecclesie hoc anno; the first mention of a brewing of beer as a source of profit, which afterwards was common.

In later times the wardens kept sheep, as appears from various items for their keep, summer and winter; and the wool was sold for the profit of the church at 4d. a pound.

All the tenements of the Church paid a land tax, *langabulum, i.e., land gabelle*, at first to the Lord Bishop. This in 1468 was taken from him and paid to the bailly of Bath for the king, and seems to have continued as long as these rolls carry us. For some tenements fines were taken on the death of the tenant, *e. g., de fine domus Rt. Headiman*, £3 6s. 8d., 1426, but usually there seems to have been a yearly rent.

One of the earliest payments is 2s. 3d. to the Master of St. John's, Bath, for certain tenements belonging to the hospital in Walcote-strete, and as it was never discontinued down to 17th Elizabeth, for aught I know the hospital, which is still existing, may still hold the property.

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4s. 4d. was also paid "*Rectori istius ecclie*," for certain tenements in Walcote-strete. 20d. was paid to the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristol, for tenements in Walcote-strete, which after the dissolution of the monasteries was paid to "the Trinite College, Bristowe." Queen Mary restored it to the Abbey, and as the Abbey lands were ultimately made over as an endowment of the new bishopric of Bristol, I imagine a rent "*schoparum apud Batho*," which appears among them in Dugdale, represents the abbot's property, and perhaps the Ecclesiastical Commissioners hold it now. There were payments also for tenements in North-gate, Frog-lane and other places, to the Cofferer and Wardens of the city of Bath. 1504 the entry occurs "pro le Xmis. dicte ecclesie Domino Regi 6s. 8d.," the first notice of any such title paid to the king, nor do I find it again till the 14th Eliz., when there is the entry, "ixs. xid. to the Queene for tenths, iiijd. for a ywyttens for the payment thereof.

I find notice of miracle plays performed in 1482. "For potation of *le plaeyrs*, in remembrance of their plays on divers occasions, 8d. For 2 bushels of corn for the same play, 2s. Paid to Walter Corryer, for wood to make a chest at the same time, 8d. Paid to John Slagg for bread and flowers for the same 5s. 6d., for two dosyns of beer for the same play, 4s. 4d. Paid to Robt. Chapman, for cheese, 13d. Paid for skins (probably for disguisement) for the same play, 20d.; and to Wm. Bayle for steyning divers utensils ordered for the said play, 3s.; and for carriage of timber and materials from the cemetery, 5d.

It may interest some to hear a list of the goods and chattels (*bonis et catellis*) handed over to the new wardens in 1427:— "Four chalices; one pair of new silk vestments; one *flameolum de Cypres* [a wrought brass cover, or mitre] for the pyx of the body of Christ, 8 linen towels [*manutergia*], 2 missals, 6 portiforia, 1 gradual, 8 processionals, 1 ordinal, 1 legendum temporale, 1 Manual, and very many other ornaments."

In 1467 this list was increased by mention of "a silver-gilt

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cross, a silver-gilt monstrance, 2 crewets of silver, six copes, whereof two of clothe of goolde, the gift of John Jewint, late rector of this Church, and 4 banners, two of silk, and 2 steyned." *

The cost of the books was considerable. 1349, 2s. was left by will of Wm. de Wyke towards a missal, 2d. was paid for a skin to bind it, and 46s. 2d. was paid for the missal itself. A *portiforium* cost £1 3s. 4d.; a processionale in 1426 cost 5s. 11d., of which 5s. 1½d. was collected for the purchase. In 1439 a manual was bought at Bristol for 16s. 8d., 1s. 6d. more being spent on "two men going on horseback to fetch the said book." There is also frequent mention of binding books, and of leather bought for that purpose; *e.g.*, 1439, "5s. for binding the Legenda."

The expense of vestments also was great; £1 6s. 10d. was collected at one time for them in 1426, equal probably to £15 now.

In 1376 a new cope cost 20s., which may fairly represent £12 now; in 1415, linen bought for a surplice, 5s. 2d.; for making it, 3s. 4d., would equal at the same rate of calculation £4 18s. now; 1425, 26s. 10d. was collected for new vestments, which were bought in 1426 for 46s. 8d., about £28 now. The cost of surplices varied much, probably in proportion to the quality of the material, as now, 1425, a surplice cost 23s. 1431, occurs 21d. for linen cloth for a surplice, and 18d. for making it. 1482, 7½ ells of linen to make a surplice for the parish clerk, 2s. 9d., and 9d. to his wife for making it; whereas in 1532 7s. 2½d. was paid for the rector's surplice and making it; in 1426, for a new alb 4s. 9d.; for setting on the parure, 1d., for making it 8d., would amount to about £3 6s. 8d., [illegible] yearly rent.

[illegible]he old customes survived in post-Reformational times, [illegible]1631 the Swanswick account ends thus :—"So there

One of the earl[illegible] Churchwardens 2s. 9d., and one Communion cup, John's, Bath, for [illegible]a clothe to keep it in, the carpet and one clothe in Walcote-strete, [illegible]ewtere, one surplice, one Bible, two Communion 17th Elizabeth, for [illegible] Bishop Jewell's works, and Erasmus his Para- existing, may still ho[illegible] pulpit and one glass bottle, covered with

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£3 6s., taking money as worth then twelve times its present value, a very moderate estimate.

Rochets and a "chesippall" (chasuble) are also mentioned, and constant repair and washing of vestments, and *buckram*, *linen*, *ribbons*, &c., for them.

Gifts and bequests of various kinds were made to the church; *e.g.*, two silver-gilt rings at one time, and six more at another; a green carpet, an apron of fine linen, wool, bales of cloth, a bushel of malt; 1462, 2. sheep worth 20d. and 7d., from the executors of Wm. Drayton; a ewe and lamb, nine silver-gilt rosaries, one pair of chaplets (*precularum*) of jet, eleven silver rosaries, and eleven coral beads, by bequest of the mother of Mr. Wm. Cliftone, lately deceased; a paten, a towel, &c. Also pledges were often given for debts, indicating scarcity of coin; *e.g.*, a roll of white cloth for 10s., a sash for 8s., a fur cloak for 10s., a tunic of tawny colour for 2s. 7d., a great dish for 20s., a lump of rock crystal, silver-gilt brooches, brass and pewter, &c.

The Church of St. Michael without the north gate, in the fourteenth and two next centuries, must have been large and handsome. I imagine a good deal of it was built in 1367-9, as there are various items for stone, "*ad opus ecclesie*," and a donation of 2s. is set down "*quod archidiaconus dedit ad opus ecclesie*." At that time (1367) occurs "solut Johanni Gregory Xs de eo quod ipse tantum accommodavit ad opus ecclesie." It must have had aisles, and a large chancel divided from the nave by a screen and rood loft, which I am disposed to think consisted of an understructure of stone, pierced with doors and windows* opening into the chancel, upon which was set the rood beam, *trabs*, supporting a candelabrum of fifteen lights, the middle one of which was called—for some reason which Dr. Rock, a man learned in ancient ritual,

* My reason for hazarding this conjecture is that there is mention of repairing defects over the *window of the rood-loft*, and in the same roll, of XV. Judas lights for the rood-loft, and making three standards of iron, and one rod of iron with three *fleurs-de-lis* and three roses, upon the rood-loft.

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cannot assign*—the Judas light, for which there is regular provision in the accounts.

In addition to the high altar (which had silken cloths and a canopy or baldachino over it) there were altars with lights always burning before them, to the B. V. Mary, the Holy Trinity, St. Catherine, St. Egidius or Giles,† and St. Christopher. Over the last (and probably over others) was a picture, which was sold 1st Edward VI.,—"20d. received for a *tablement* with an image of S. Christopher payntyd on ye same;" and "for another *tablement*, 12d."

Lights were also burned before the cross, and the font, called *Fontapere*, and notice is made of a herse, in the chancel, which was an open stone or iron-work erection, fitted with many candelabra, under which coffins of persons of importance were laid during the singing of the Requiem. There was also a holy sepulchre, which previously to Easter was watched, and lights burned before it; there was a Lenten veil, with cords and pulley to work it; a large chest for vestments in the chancel; banners which were carried in procession on Rogation days, Corpus Christi, Dedication, and others; large numbers of torches, weighing heavily, were always provided; *e.g.*, 1463—"for a new torch, weighing 24 lbs., whereof 8 lbs. belong to the church, and 16 lbs. of new wax was bought of John Wexmaker, 8s. 8d.;" 1485, "two torches of 42 lbs. weight at 3½d. a lb., 12s. 3d.;" 1503, "two torches weighing 27 lbs., 11s. 9d.;" for a new light for Easter,

* In the accounts of St. Mary Hill, London, 1511, occurs "Mem.: that the *Judas* of the pastal, *i.e.*, the tymbre that the wax of the pastal is driven upon, weigheth 7 lbs.; and in those of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1512, "pd. for 12 *Judacis* to stand with the tapers, 2s."

Among the cups belonging to the monastery of Durham before the dissolution is mentioned "a goodly great mazer, called *Judas cup*, edged about with silver, and double-gilt, with a foot underneath it to stand on silver, double-gilt, which was never used but on Maundy Thursday at night in the Frater House, where the Prior and the whole Convent did meet to keep their Maundy."

† The special saint of lepers and the like, and therefore to be looked for as having an altar in Bath.

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making, to John Wexmaker, 8s. 8d. The whole cost of weighing 19 lbs., at 5½d. per lb., with 7 lbs. old wax, and wax and oil was very large; 1504, the cost of *making* lights for the rood, paschal, and font, exclusive of the purchase of the wax, was 10s. 10d.; for making all the jornulles used during the year, 2s. 10½d.; for all the oil for the year, 5s. 8½d.; for small candles to light the others, 7d. Taking the same comparative value of money, this would amount to £12 now; and many other things show that the services of the church were liberally and handsomely provided for.

The church had a tower, with windows barred to keep out birds; * and a sanctus bell; but the bell tower, *campanile*, is always distinguished from the *turris*, and was apparently detached and stood by itself on land for which a quit rent was paid. † and contained six bells. The great, second, third, middle, tenor, and treble bells are all specified.‡

In 1426 the wardens were minded to build a "new chapel to our Lady," apparently carried out beyond the former altar to her honour: encouraged, perhaps, by a legacy of 12d. from Philip Towker, *ad edificationem nove capelle.*

Their mode of procedure included no architect, plan, or contract apparently. I subjoin some of the items.

8d. to two men moving the altar of St. Mary.

4d. for horse hire to fetch the stone mason.

For consecration of the altar of St. Mary *ad suffraganium* 7s. 8d. (does this mean *when the suffragan bishop came*, or

* 1536.—"8d. *p. c. lathes ad faciendam laticiam fenestris turris;*" also, 1532, 18s. 1½d. is set down for repairing and pointing the tower, and 4s. for a load of stone tiles for it.

† In 1400 occurs, "*de loco ubi campanile stat* 4s.," a charge which goes on to 1527.

‡ In 1484 one of the bells was taken to Bristol, at an expense of 5s. 6d. for carriage there and back, and cost 41s. for recasting, and 1s. for rehanging inthe *campanile*—equal to about £30 now.

1518 is recorded a payment to Walter Merch, for hanging the 2nd. bell, and for nails and bolts, 16d., to Ths. Belleter de Borstelles (the bell-founder at Bristol?) £4 13s. 4d., and for repair of the bawdry kes. 4s. 2d.

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for the supplemental oratory, in which the altar may have been temporaily placed while the new chapel was building?)·

6s. 8d. paid to the stonemason on the vigil of Pentecost.

26s. 8d. paid to him on the vigil of All Saints.

8d. for a man and horse to fetch a mason and his tools for digging stone.

1d. for laying the first stone of the foundation of the chapel.

2d. for drink at the completion of two arches.

13s. 2d. for "lyme" for the whole building of the chapel.

8d. for divers other things.

1d. for men to carry two poles to the scaffold.

4s. 8d. for clearing away the old walls of the chancel.

16s. 8d. for opening a new window in the chapel.

7s. for carriage of stone.

2s. 3½d. for victuals for the carriers at various times.

2d. to the mason for over-hours, *pro serotico*, after two days.

1s. 5½d. for victuals for stone diggers, breaking and shaping.

4s. for stone of the Provost of Claverton.

1s. 10d. for a labourer for a week helping the mason and carpenter.

1d. for drink for him.

4d. for one "hurdyl" and spikes.

3s. 8d. for crests for the chapel.

8d. for a horse and man to fetch the tiler.

3s. 6d. for a new door, and making it.

2s. 4d. for nails, hinges, staple and hook to it, and for "nodys" for the roof.

1s. 8d. to a carpenter for two couplings on the old roof.

5d. to John Whytynge for supporting the chancel roof.

2s. 2d. for seeking two couplings, *copulis* (possibly coping stones), for the ancient arch from Locok.

6d. for the beginning of the carpenter and glazier's work.

6d. for a couple of rests for the "wynd-barge" of the new chapel.

10d. to J. Whytynge and his son for laying the gutters.

1d. for fetching them, and 6½d. for nails.

7½d. for nails to make firm a plank over the gutters.

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1s. 8d. for 10 planks to secure the lead in the gutters.

£1 16s. 6d. to the plumber for new lead for the same gutters.

13s. 4d. for 1,000 tiles for the chapel.

2s. for a man to help the tiler.

5s. 2d. to Thomas Speke for labour, 12 days and over-hours.

3d. for carriage of sand.

1s. 6d. for "lathe nayls."

£1 0s. 10d. to the tiler, and 1d. for drink.

2s. 8d. for a horse and two men carrying away rubbish.

The latest attempt in church improvement seems to have been in 7th Elizabeth, when chimes were added to the clock. The clock itself was a very early institution, and the man who kept it got 4s. a year.

1482 we find "pro factura domus orologii et lapide, zabulo et clavis ac settyng uppe dicti orologii, 6s. 8d."; but the parish clerk had charge of the clock itself fifty years earlier.

It is singular that there is no mention of any musical instrument throughout the rolls, unless a repair "viol argenti 3d., 1490," be one; but I fancy it is a silver vessel.

In 1246 occurs a charge of 1d. for preparing the floor of the church, for the putting up of seats. May we date the custom of seats from that year? There are several notices of seats afterwards.

1441.—8d. *pro una sede de Thom. Bradwey.*

1490 *pro restitucione Amisie Vayreoke pro sede sua relicta* 8d.

1494.—2d. *pro sede una in ecclesia di Eleanor Tyer.*

1520.—4d. *pro una sede in ecclesia hoc anno.*

Our ancestors cannot be said to have been at all tee-totallers. *Potacion* is an invariable item at the beginning of each roll; in 1366 they spent 2d. on bread and beer, *cerevisia*, in celebration of their entrance in office.

It must be confessed that potations were rare and frugal in early times, but after the Reformation they were much more frequent and costly, and money "to

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make the ringers drink,"* on various festive occasions, then first appears; "12d. to make the Rynggers drynk when they roung the Daye of the Remembrance of the Crownasyon of oure Queene's Grace." (14th Eliz.)

Wine is rarely mentioned in early rolls; in 10th Elizabeth appears "5d. for a quarte of seke (*sack*) that was given to the Byshope's offycyall at his beyng here," but that was an unusual extravagance.

The earliest notice of a visitation is 1441, "6d. solut. in potacione in die visitacionis;" though "in una presertacione coram archidiacono 2s.," implies his visitation in 1370. The next is not till 1532, "2d. pro una billa facta et exhibita in visitacione;" and 1534 (25th Hen viii.), "1d. soluto in visitacione domini cantuarensis," which I imagine was "Cranmer's Metropolitan Visitation."

In Reformational times attendance both of wardens and other parishioners at visitations was very frequent and expensive, *e.g.*, I. Edw. VI., "6d. to a clark makyng our byll at a visitacion held at Stalle Ch.; 8d. pd. hoths (oaths) at the said visitacion; 18d. pd. to them of the parishioners that appeared for 1 daye for mete and drink; 1d. for paper at the visitacion at Wells; 18d. for further costs repayd them that appeared at the visitacion; 3s. 4d. for the costs of persons that did appear at the said visitacion; 6s. for waytyng and other charges at the bp's. visitacion;" 2s. was also "payd to the Somner (Summoner) for discharging the Booke" for "lake of aperens" (lack of appearance); "2s. for two bookes to my Lord Byshop's Somner; 2d. spent upon the parson and him at that time; 12d. for wrytyng and kepyng of the paper booke."

The Reformation of course swept away the old Roman Catholic ceremonial entirely. The high altar was pulled down

* 10th Elizabeth occurs "12d. to the ryngers to ryng when the Duke came yn." This is explained to be the Duke of Norfolk, who is stated by Bristol history to have come "from Bath to Bristol, 1568, with the Earl of Worcester and others, but was sent for by the Queen from thence with all speed, and was soon after beheaded."—*Athenæum Sept.*, 1878.

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3rd Edward VI., 1550, at a cost of 16d., and 6d. for "washing the Altar place with lyme." In 1552 occurs "for the stufe and makynge the Communyon table 6s. 8d., and 8s. for a carpet to the same;" and, 2s. "for the Prayer Boke in Inglysche." There is nothing about a Bible till 14th Elizabeth, when "the owlde Bible" was sold for 6s. 8d., and "20s. paid to William Sherstone towards the payment of the new Bible."

The fabric of the church was allowed to get into bad order, till "the Queen's Majestie" came to Bath,* and then both St. Michael's and Stalls' Church were repaired, and the windows glazed, for her reception. As to the minister, he appears to have been left to starve. In 1551 the Wardens gave him 20d. "towards hys lyvynge;" and two years earlier 6d. is set down "to the two procurators sekyng ye good wylle and almes towards the parson's levynge." In 1563 I find "3s. 4d. for wages for the parson payd at Pensford," at the archdeacon's visitation; and the largest sum given is 1573,—"17s. 6d. payd toward the parson's wages."

The Abbey and Abbey Church fell almost into ruins. 2nd Edward VI. occurs "16d. for tyles and 2d. for their carriage from the Abbaye," which, I imagine, was used as a sort of quarry, from which building materials could be procured.

St. Michael's, together with Stalls' Church, St. James's, and St. Mary's, were annexed to the Abbey parish, and their ministers were provided by the Rector. Their separate property was nearly all ruthlessly confiscated.

* Several items prove that Queen Elizabeth visited Bath in 1574, although she is generally supposed not to have been there till 1592:—

Recd. of Wm. Acton for taxe money againste the Quene's coming 3s.

Given to the Queresteres of Wells att the Quene's Majestie being heare 10s.

Pd. to one that kepte cleane the walls of the cittie at the Quene's Majestie's being heare 2s.

Pd. to the tapster of the Harte for the gentlemen ushers and hys companys dynner 12s. 4d.

Pd. to Forte for glasing of Stall's Churche windows at the Quene's Majestie being heare 4s. 4d.

Pd. to John More the foremason for making of the ring of the Westgate against the Quene's Majestie coming heare 5s. 5d.

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The bequests for holding of obits and anniversaries were seized and appropriated by the Crown, and the lands, tenements, &c., cease to be mentioned in the Rolls after Edward VI.'s days, but apparently they passed back into the hands of the Corporation, as about 100 years ago a dispute arose between that body and St. Michael's parish about certain properties, and with a view to gaining evidence a so-called copy of these Rolls was made, but in so ignorant a manner that it could not have been of the slightest use.

It may be interesting if I give in conclusion a specimen of one of the Rolls in the original Latin, which will serve to illustrate the remarks which have been made on them.

Bathonia Ecclesia Scti Michaelis extra. Compotus Ricardi Kippynge et Willelmi Walley pro curatores ibidem a festo Sanctarum undecim Millia virginum anno domini Millesimo CCCC^{mo} LXV^{o} usque idem festum ex tunc proximo sequens A^{o} Dom^{i} Mill^{mo} CCCC^{mo} LXVI^{o}.

Arreragia, nulla.

Redditus Assize. Et de ixli xvis receptis de toto redditu assise per annum ut patet per rentale factum tempore Rici. Thode et Johs. Sewey procuratorum dicte ecclesie An^{o} Regis Henrici quinti, &c. septimo.

Summa ixli. xvjs.

Incrementum Redditus. Et de iijs. iiijd. de incremento redditus tenementi nuper Walteri Riche pro vjs. viijd., modo Johs. Prioure pro xs.

Et de xvjd. de incremento redditus tenementi nuper Willmi. Wyddenham pro viijd. modo. . . .

Et de iijs. viijd. de incremento redditus tenementi olim Rogeri Hobbys una cum gardino nuper Johannis Roche et cotagii Dionysii Dyer vocati Berhows modo concessi Ricdo. Reede per an. pro xxiijs. iiijd.

Et de xvjd. de novo redditu prati nuper Henrici Thursden juxta Cornewylle sic dimisso.

(And others of the same nature.)

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Summa xxiijs. iiijd.

Receptus Denariorum. Et de vs. ixd. de denariis receptis et collectis ad lumen trabis et cerei fontis Ano. isto ad Pascham.

Et de ijs. jd. ob de candelis provenientibus cum pane benedicto isto Ano. et non plus quia j dimidium deficit ob missale.

Et de xijd. de legacione Agnetis Goldsmythe.

Et de xvjd. receptis pro j pecia ferri vendita Ji. Hampton.

Et de xxd. de denariis receptis de locacione corone regis ad festum Pentecosten Ao. isto.

Et de xijd receptis de Wmo. Montfort causa sursum redditionis tenementi sui ex concessu parochianorum.

Summa xijs. xd. ob.

Summa totalis receptuum, xjli. xijs. ijd. ob.

Resolucio Redditus. De quibus computatur solvisse ut in redditu resoluto domino * Episcopo Bathonie pro longabulo domini Regis pro diversis terementis istuis Ecclesie per an. iiijs. iiijd. ob.

Et dicto Episcopo pro tenemento nuper Johs. Whytynge modo Willmi. Abyndone iijd. ob.

Et in redditu resoluto pro tenemento The. Abell ijs. et Robti Walley dicto Episcopo per an. ij. iijd.

Et in redditu resoluto Magistro Sti. Johs. Bapte. Bathonie per an. ij. vijd.

Et in redditu resoluto Abbati Scti Augustini Brystollii pro tenemento Js. Pochyn in Walcote strete xxd.

Et in redditu resoluto Rectori hujus ecclesie pro tenemento nuper Johs. Whytynge quod Wills. Abyndone modo inhabitat iiijs. iiijd.

Et in redditu resoluto. procuratori Communitatis Bathonie pro tenementis The. Pelles et Willmi. Abyndone Vd. in Walcote strete; et tenementi in Frog lane iijs. et tenementi Willmi. Carter in Brade stret xjd. iijs. xjd.

Et in redditu resoluto Cofferariis Communitatis Bathonie pro tenemento olim Walteri Riche quod Robs. Batyn modo tenet xijd.

Et in redditu resoluto Henrico Champeneys pro tenemento Ricard Reede per annum. ijd.

* This marks the beginning of the transfer of Land Tax from the bishop to the Crown.

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Summa xxs. vijd.

Defectus Redditus. Et in defectu redditus tenementi nuper Ricdi. Creket in Bradestret ultra iijs. iiijd. levato de Robto. Somerset iijs. iiijd.

Et in defectu redditus tenementi nuper Js. Balle senioris modo Th. Scherwyn ad terminum vite xs. quia reliquit dictum tenementum in manibus parochianorum, et ea de causa allocatur ei totus redditus hujus anni.

Et in defectu redditus tenementi apud Alforde ultra xvjd. levatis de Edwardo Braylle per an. quia sic conceditur ei ad terminum vite per an. iijs. iiijd.

(Many other similar items.)

Et in defectu redditus tenementi Js. Story quia jacet vacuum et nil inde levari potest. vijs.

Summa xls. ixd.

Custodia domorum. Et petunt allocacionem de exitu suo anni precedentis ut patet in pede compoti ani. precedentis ljs. ob.

Et in M. petris tegulis emptis pro tenemento Rdi. Rede vjs. viijd.

Et in crestis emptis pro dicto domo xxd.

Et solutis cuidam latamo pro una fenestra ibidem firmanda et ponenda vjd.

Et in j quarteria calcis empta. vjd.

Et in ccc tabulis emptis pro dicto tenemento reparando et solario tabulando vjs.

Et solutis Galfrido Carpenter cum serviente suo per quatuor dies conductis ad* thm. pro dicto solario faciendo iiijs.

Et solutis tegulatori conducto pro ij lovers† faciendis cum les barchys‡ dicte domus puntandis cum calce. xvd.

Et in tabulis ad idem emptis vjd.

Et solutis Laurentio pro dicto tenemento steddand,§ breydand, et

* Ad *theloneum* or *teloneum*, *i.e.*, according to estimate.

The carpenter and his man hired for four days to make an upper chamber, or Solar, according to estimate 4s., *i.e.*, 1s. p. day for the two, equivalent to 12s. now, of which probably Galfridus had 8s. and his man 4s., not bad wages.

† Or louvers, a wooden contrivance for escape of smoke.

‡ Possibly the *barge boarding*.

§ I cannot explain these words, apparently peculiar to the mason's work of the period.

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ibidem iii stappys de lapide factis et murum dictum plastrand per ij dies ad th. xvd.

Et in lapidibus ad idem viijd.

Et in virgis ad dictum murum emptis. vjd.

Et in stovys* ad idem emptis. vjd.

Et in clavis ad idem. xd.

Et in gomphis † et vertinellis emptis pro hostio dicte domus. vjd.

Et in spinis emptis pro sepibus gardini includendis xxd.

Et in stakys ligni ad idem ixd.

Et in factura dictarum‡ hayarum vijd.

Et in uno guttere plumbi ponderis cc dimidii lbs. precium lb . . empti pro tenemento Willi. Wodhulle. xiijs. xjd.

Et in sowdyr§ empto ad idem iijd.

Et solutis plumbario pro dicto guttere ponendo ibidem iiijd.

Et solutis cuidam tegulatori conducto pro dicto tenemento per j. diem reparando ad th. vjd.

Et in mees‖ ad idem empto lijd.

Et in clavis ad idem emptis jd.

Et in una hostio empto pro dicta domo viijd.

Et in gomphis et vertinellis ferri emptis pro dicto hostio vd.

Et in tabulis emptis pro uno alio hostio xijd.

Et pro factura dicti hostii. vjd.

Et in clavis iiijd. et in gomphis et vertinellis vd.

Et pro emendacione j flore iiijd.

Et in virgis emptis pro tenemento Wmi. Momforte reparando iiijd.

Et in studdis ad idem emptis iijd.

Et in uno herthe cum zabulo¶ ad idem cariando in faciendo vjd.

Et sol. cuidam laboratori pro stodynge et bredynge et dawbynge xvjd.

Et sol. cuidam coopertori pro dicto tenemento reparando cum stramine et helme** ad th. xiijd.

* Thin spars of wood, al. *stoys*.

† *Latches and bolts* apparently. The words occur in connection with doors frequently. Du Cange quotes under *gumphus* (Gesta Consulum Andeg., c. 3, n. 26), "Cum ostio fusili, quod *gumphis* et *vertinellis* et quatuor clavibus firmabatur."

‡ Hedges.

§ *Solder*, or *soder*.

‖ Bundles of rods or laths.

¶ *Sabulo*, sand.

** Bundles of straw straightened for the thatcher's use. The word is still common.

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Et in VIc spykys* ad idem emptis ixd. Et in helme ad idem ijd. ob.

Et in emendacione tenementi Johs. Savyer vjd.

Et in zabulo ad idem cariando ijd.

Et in cera (*sera*) † ad dictum tenementum empta. iiijd.

Et in clavis ob. Et in zabulo cariando ad tenementum. Ricdi, Reede ut in xxiiij cariagiis xijd.

Et in ij stapulis ferri emptis ijd.

Et sol. Galfrido Carpenter pro dolobracione‡ iiij stipidum ulmorum cum suo serviente ad th. per j diem et dimidium xvjd. ob.

Et sol. pro sarracione§ dictorum stipidum continentium iiijc pedes; per c, xijd. iiijs.

Et sol. dicto Galfrido pro reparacione tenementi Thome Brydd ut in j steyre‖ et j enterclos walle. Et pro reparacione j flore tenementi Willi. Wodehulle et uno hostio in tenemento Johs. Gregory facto ad th. iijs. vd.

Et in gomphis et vertinellis ad idem vjd.

Et in clavis ad idem xvjd. ob.

Et sol. Thome labourer pro breydyn et dawbing dicti parietis ad th. xd.

Et in virgis et studys ad idem vjd.

Summa vli. xvjs. xjd. ob.

Custodia Ecclesie. Et computant solvisse ut in denariis pro potacione ultimi compoti iiijd.

Et in candelis emptis in die dedicacionis et aliorum festorum. xijd.

Et sol. Andree Bedford pro oleo lampadum ardentium in ecclesia per an. ut patet per parcellas super hunc compotum ostensas. iijs.

Et sol. pro custodia orlogii per an. iiijs.

Et sol. pro bajulacione vexilli iid. crucis ijd. torticiorum jd. ob. in die Corporis Xti, et diebus rogacionis, vd.

Et sol. pro lavacione omnium linthyaminum dicte ecclesie p. an. xijd.

Et in cera empta erga festum Pascha et Natale Domini et Jornal Sancte Trinitatis Katerine et sepulcri cera, cum factura earum omnibus computatis anno isto. vs. viijd.

* *Wooden spikes* for thatching; so called now.

† A latch. ‡ hewing. § Sawing.

‖ One stair and one partition wall.

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Et in ij Jurnalibus * cere ardentibus ante Michaelem anno xvjd.
Et in denariis solutis pro Petrys pens vijd. ob.
Et in j corda empta pro secunda campana ixd.
Et sol. pro emendacione de le bawdre † dicte campane jd.
Et sol. pro purgacione gutturarum ecclesie jd.
Et sol. pro le schyttynge ‡ de j corda jd.
Et in ij pellys§ de ij Aubys suendis. ijd.
Et sol. pro campanis unguendis per an. ijd.
Et in jantaculum computanti et clerico compoti ano. isto xijd.
Et sol. pro factura compoti xxd.
Et in parcameno ad idem empto. ijd.

Summa xxjs. vijd.

Anniversaria. Et in denariis solutis pro omnibus anniversariis istius ecclesie per an. cum obitu Johs. Bode et Henci. Thursdene et Edithe uxoris dictorum xls. ijd.

Summa xls. ijd.

Summa omnium Expensarum xijli.

Et sic exeunt vijs. xd. Et eligerunt in procuratores Robertum Chepman et Ricardum Kyppynge.

* Large torches calculated to burn for a day.

† Bawdrick (spelt in half a dozen different ways), a leathern thong for the clapper of the bell.

‡ I imagine *spliting*.

§ Fur parures for Albes in winter.

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HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE FAMILY OF MARGARET OF LOGY, SECOND QUEEN OF DAVID THE SECOND, KING OF SCOTS.

By Major-General A. STEWART ALLAN, F.S.A. Scot.,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Queen Margaret of Logy, the second consort of King David de Bruys, has been hitherto considered, by all our historians I believe without exception, as the only Scottish queen whose filiation and family are unknown. Even the late Mr. Riddell, nothwithstanding his well-known legal acumen and profound antiquarian research, was unable to do more than prove that Margaret was *not* the daughter, but the widow of a Logie, although she had been hitherto designated the daughter of Sir John of Logy in all the histories of Scotland, both old and new, where her parentage is stated. The accurate Lord Hailes styles her merely "Margaret Logie," while in his *Appendix*, showing the succession of the kings of Scotland, with their marriages, children, and time of their death, he writes—"2. Margaret, daughter of Sir John Logie, Knt., 1363. She survived her husband." (*Annals of Scotland, edit.* 1797, vol. ii., pp. 284-5, 288-9, 375-6; *III. Append.*, p. 115 *seq.; and third edit.*, 1819, vol. ii., pp. 314-5, 318-321, 460-1.)

Tytler also follows this account, erroneously representing her as a *Logie* by parentage, and does not appear to have known that she was previously a widow. (*History of Scotland, 12mo. edit.*, 1841; vol. ii., pp. 120 *et seq.*) Sir Walter Scott, both in his "Tales of a Grandfather," and History of Scotland (*edit.* 1830, vol. i., pp. 213, 215-6), is

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equally inaccurate; for he actually makes her the "*daughter* of Sir John Logie, executed for accession to the plot against King Robert I., which was prosecuted and punished in the times of the Black Parliament;" but calls her "a beautiful young woman," which hardly coincides with the date of her supposed father's death in August, 1320—a period of nearly forty-three years previous to her marriage with King David. The present Historiographer Royal of Scotland, in his "History" (*edit.* 1867, vol. iii., pp. 56-8), styles her "a certain Margaret Logie, of unknown family," "an obscure person," and "entirely isolated—either from the very humble condition of her relations, or other reasons," &c.

If we go further back, to the historians of the sixteenth century, the same errors prevail; but, as being nearer the period when the events occurred, they may be quoted. Hector Boyce, about 1526, in his "History of the Scots" (*Paris edit.*, 1574, *lib.* xv., *fol.* 327), writes:—"Sub idem tempus Joanna regina et uxor Dauidis in Angliam fratris visendi gratia contendens moritur, nulla relicta prole. Sed elapso anno Dauid aliam vxorem accipit Margaritam Logi *filiam* Joannis Logi equitis aurati, virginem omnes sua ætate forma excellentem, magis vt iactabatur, specie captus, quàm quòd sobolem ex ea cuperet. Eam autem annum egressam vicesimum quartum, quum nullam ex ea prolem speraret, repudiauit. Sed quum Romanam sedem appellasset, multis illic impensis profusis tandem defuncta est." Dr. Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, in his translation of Boyce, about 1536, presents the following:—"In the nixt yeir, quhilk wes fra our redemption, MCCCLVII, Lady Jane, spous to King David, past in pilgrimage to Sanct Thomas of Canterbery, in Ingland, and deceissit, but ony childrin of hir body. King David, eftir hir deith, maryit ane lusty woman, namit Margaret Logy, *douchter* to Schir Johne Logy; and within thre monethis eftir; he repentit and wes so sorowful that he had degradit his blud-rial with sic obscure linnage, that he banist hir, and all otheris that gave him counsall thairto, out of his realme. At last, this lady past, with ane certane

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hir freindis to Avinion, quhare the Paip held his seit for the time; and wes so favorit, that scho gat finalie ane sentence aganis King David, to annere to hir as his lawchful lady and wiffe. Thus suld the realme have cumin under interdiction and gret truble, wer nocht scho deceissit be the way, returnand hame." ("Croniklis of Scotland," translated by *John Bellenden; 4to edit., Edinb.*, 1821, vol. ii., p. 449.)

I shall now refer to the history of this marriage as related by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross.

"Sub idem tempus Joanna Regis vxor sine prole moritur, divina id providentia justissimè nectente, ut omnes clamabunt, ne qua ex illa proles regni gubernaculis supesset, à cujus avo, patre, ac etiam fratre, Scoti jam diu tantis cladibus, incommodis, vexationibus impie affecti fuerunt. Vix annus intercesserat, cum David vxorem accipit Margaretam, Joannis Logy Equitis aurati *filiam:* ex qua quòd nullum partum speravit, illam non absque magna honoris sui nota repudiavit. Illa tantam sibi labem imprimi iniquissimo animo ferens. Romam profecta, ad Pontificem summum provocavit, paucisque post diebus interpositis, spiritum extremam in Vrbe exhalavit."

This account is almost identical with that given by Boyce, with the exclusion of her being a virgin bride, and the addition of her having died at Rome, which latter statement is problematical. ("*De Origine Moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum, &c., Auct. Joanne Lesliæ, Epis. Rossen,*" *Romæ* 1675, *4to* p. 244.)

Dr. John Mair—who printed his well-known historical work, at Paris, in 1521, shortly before the appearance of Boyce, —does not add much to our knowledge; indeed, as regards the circumstances of the divorce between King David and Margaret Logy he candidly admits that the facts had escaped him. He assigns no parentage to the queen, merely giving her name and describing her as a handsome, or perhaps showy wòman—*mulier speciosa*—The following is his statement:—

"Tempore hujus parlamenti legi Joannam Reginam vixisse; quam imaginor hoc marito suo, et non multum imprudenter, persuassisse, quia eam plurimum, sicut digna erat, Rex amavit. Licet enim prolis

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bonum ex hac muliere non habuerit, bona tamen fidei et sacramenti, quæ incomparabiliter primum bonum anteeunt, syncerissime habuerunt. Post hoc parlamentum paulo post Regina dissoluta est. Cum Regi suo Scoti de Anglo successuro contradixissent, *Margaretam Logy* mulierem speciosam in uxorem Rex duxit, quatinus ex ea hæredem procrearet: qui ex ea liberos non habens, indignatus mulierem contempsit, et divortium celebravit. Hujus occasione dico quod, Scoti hac nostra tempestate nimis leviter divortium procreant, et plerique l[L]aici * ad salutem animæ (sufficere) existimant, dummodo, in foro exteriori, falsorum testium suggestione [testimonio], divortium celeabre[a]tur: et sic alias mulieres, quas conjuges putant, in adulterio contrectant. Ab eruditis in hac parte erudiendi sunt, ut legem Dei de matrimonio non violent ut quos Deus conjunxit homo non separet. Si ab initio matrimonium per verba de præsenti inter personas habiles contractum fuerit; nulla causa superveniente, quæcunque illa fuerit, vinculum illud ab ullo homine. Papa vel alio, dissolvi potest. Quia vero *circumstantiæ* facti inter Davidem Bruseum et *dominam Margaretam Logy me fugiunt*, non possum de vero divortio sententiam doctrinalem ferre. Romanum Pontificem Avinione existentem Margareta visitavit, in cujus curia tam ex parte Davidis quam ex parte ejus multæ impensæ factæ sunt. In hoc tam Regem quam mulierem improbo. Mulierem quam acceperat Rex abigere non debuit, nec acceptam regni limites pati egredi. Mulier etiam illa debebat domum stare, et religiose vivere, et jussibus regiis, qui humanus erat, acquiescere. Non decet mulierem, potissimum principem, late a domicilio vagari. Nec Davidem Bruseum vel Alexandrum lau do, qui suis uxoribus Anglorum sororibus facultatem impertiverunt Cantuariam peregre aut fratres visitandi. Cum unius regni mulierem Rex aliquis ducet, sui regni famulos Reginæ assignabit, eamque pellem antiquam mutare et novam induere humane faciet." ("Historia Majoris Britanniæ, tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ," "per *Joannem Majorem*, nomine quidem Scotum, professione autem Theologum, et veterum monumentis concinnata." *Ed. nova, Edinb.*, 1740, Lib. V., cap. xxiii., pp. 255-257.)

The reflections of Mair are important as evidence of the opinion of an able and learned Scottish ecclesiastic, in the

* The slight alterations inserted in brackets are from Edit. of 1521, p. 112, where "sufficere" is omitted.

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earlier part of the sixteenth century, on the question of divorces, then so frequently granted in his native country, often on very slight and insufficient grounds. He certainly appears disposed to attribute more blame to King David than to Queen Margaret, though unable to state the exact grounds on which the divorce had been originally granted by the ecclesiastical courts in Scotland, and why that sentence was subsequently reversed on appeal to the Apostolic Court at Avignon by the papal Curia. His position as a doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris, and afterwards Professor of Divinity at St. Salvator's College in the University of St. Andrews, entitles his opinions on such matters to be held in respect.

The following authority—from an anonymous writer who lived in the reign of King James IV., and which bears every mark of authenticity, having been repeatedly referred to and cited by modern writers on Scotish history—contains an interesting account of the marriage of Queen Margaret.

"Dauid rex accepit in vxorem speciossimam dominam Margaretam Logy, *relictam* Johannis Logy, pro successione ut asseruit habenda; sed alii pulcritudinis voluptati hoc iudicabant. Ucunque eam rex disponsauit apud Inchmurtho anno predicto, et eam in reginam magnifice exaltauit, et postea, propter discordias et simultates inter eosdem, diuorcium celebratum fuit circa festum Carnisprauii anno Domini M°III°LXXIX. Propter quod ipsa clam nauim ascensa curiam peciit Apostolicam Avinioun commorantem, et per appellacionem causam deuoluit, et totum regnum lite sua commouit; et comparentibus procuratoribus regis diu litigatum est, et causa protelata, vt processus in libro scriptus exedit quantitatem trium psalteriorum. Adeo fauorata est in Curia cum cardinalibus, advocatis, et aliis officiariis, ut, si supervixisset, sperabatur victoriam reportasse; sed tandem *ibidem moritur*, et lis extinguitur." ("Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie.

The above correctly styles Margaret the *widow*—"relicta"—of John Logy, and also gives the date of the divorce, granted by the Scottish ecclesiastical authorities, as having occurred about the beginning of the season of Lent, 1369, which commenced in that year on February 14th; though

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Carnisprivium sometimes signifies Septuagesima Sunday, which fell on January 28 in the year 1369.

A contemporary writer, entitled to every credit, will next be quoted, and his testimony is the more valuable, as it must have been derived from personal knowledge. His notice of the marriage though very brief, contains some additional facts nowhere else mentioned. The "Scala Cronica" of Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, a Northumbrian knight and gallant soldier, was compiled by him to beguile the solitude of his imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh, where he was confined for nearly two years. He was released from captivity shortly before October, 1357, and was appointed one of the English Wardens of the Eastern Marches against Scotland in 1367; he was again Constable of Norham Castle in 1368, and died in 1369. As the divorce occurred in that year no notice of it is found in his work, which indeed concludes abruptly with the following:—

"Et cest riot pur le temps ensi enmesez, le dit Dauid (roy Descoce) prist en espouse dame Margaret de Logy, vn dame *qautre foitz* auoit este *marie*, qe oue ly auoit deuaunt demurrez; cest matrimoigne fust fait soulement per force damours, qe toutz veint."

In the *Appendix* of "Notable Things Translated into Englische by *John Leylande* oute of a Booke, caullid *Scala Chronica*, the which a certein Inglisch Man (taken yn werre Prisoner, and brought to Edingeburgh yn Scotland) Did translate oute of French Ryme into French Prose," there is only the following abstract and translation of the passage in "French Prose" above given:—"David Bruis, king of Scottes, toke to wyfe, by force of love, one Margaret de Logy."

"Scala cronica." *By Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Knight. A Chronicle of England and Scotland from A.D. MLXVI. to A.D. MCCCLXII. Now first Printed from the Unique MS.* (preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, pp. 203 and 315).

The next authority is that of the Prior of Lochleven, Andrew of Wyntoun, who died shortly after September in

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the year 1420, at an advanced age, so that he was probably cognizant of the event from the recollections of his youth.

"A.D. 1363. A thousand thre hundyr sexty and thre
Yeris efftyr the Nativite,
In Inchemortho the King Davy
Weddit Dame *Mergret of Logy*
In the moneth off Aprile.
Thai ware togiddyr bot schort quhile."

("The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, by Andrew of Wyntoun." *Edited by David Laing. Edinb.*, 1872, *Vol. II. p.* 506, *B. VIII., ch. xlvi., lines* 7173—7178.)

The Chronicle of *Johannes de Fordun*, must now be referred to, as all the later historians appear to base their statements upon his authority. The following extract is taken from *Goodall's* edition of the "Scotichronicon" (*Lib. xiv., cap. xxviii.*): "Quomodo rex David desponsavit *Margaretum Logy*, et de eorum divortio. Volens igitur rex David providere pro successione regni, de fructu ventris, si Deus dederit, elegit unam speciosissimam dominam, Margaretam Logy *filiam* (*Relictam*, "MS. Cupr.") Johannis Logy, fortè non tam bonitate virtutis femineæ, quam voluptate formæ appetitivæ; cùm tamen matrimonium non de facili, sicut expedit, sine gratia prævia et magna providentia præcedentibus, contrahendum, est." After a digression of ten pages, the historian proceeds: "Hanc igitur dominam *Margaretam de Logy* rex David apud Inchemurdach desponsavit, et in regina magnificè exaltavit; cum qua parvo * tempore habitavit: sed propter quasdam

* In a foot-note to above passage there is the following with reference to *parvo* :—"Anno, &c., LXIII. prædictus dominus David rex Scotiæ quandam magnam dominam, Margaretam de Logy, honestis et nobilioribus ortam natalibus, de regno suo oriundam, apud Inchmachae duxit uxorem; quam multis terris et possessionibus ditavit, ac regio diademate secum regnaturam honorabiliter sublimavit" (*edit. H. Si ita, tempore non adeo parvo cum ea habitavit*).

"Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri, Insulæ Sanctæ Columbæ Abbatis: e Codicilus. MSS. editum, cum notis et variantibus lectionibus. Prefixa est ad historiam Scotorum Introductio brevis *curâ Walteri Goodall*," 2 *vols. fol., Edinburg*, 1759. *Vol. II., pp* 370 *and* 379-80.

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simultates inter eos conceptas, divortium celebravit cum eadem circa festum Carnisprivii, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo nono. Propter quod ipsa, ascensa clàm navi in aquam de Forth ("multum bene auro munita," *addit MS. Cupr.*), curiam petiit Apostolicam; et Avinionem, ubi tunc curia exstiterat, devenit, et per appellationem causam suam illuc devolvit, et totum regnum suâ prosecutione commovit. Procuratoribus itaque regis ad Apostolicam sedem transmissis, acriter altercatum est, et inter oratores partium contendentium processus in tantum protelatus est, quòd liber confectus, et notariorum signis signatus, præcellit in scriptura, judicio meo qui processum vidi et hæc scripsi, continentiam literaturæ quatuor Psalteriorum. Multum enim fuit causa ejus in auribus auditorum et cardinalium recommissa, ita quòd, *si supervixisset*," (Rex aut Papa?) "regnum interdicot supposuisst. Sed ipsa Romipeta moritur peregrina. Ad cujus suggestionem rex nepotem suum Robertum Stewart, cum tribus filiis, viz. Johannem, Robertum et Alexandrum, arrestavit, et in diversis munitionibus ad custodiendum deputavit. Sci, facto divortio, eos liberavit, et ad pristinam gratiam recepit."

It is to be noted that the paragraph, inserted in a foot-note to Fordun a Goodall, instead of the one in the body of the text, is the reading accepted by the editor of the new and improved Chronicle of Fordun, taken from the *Wolfenbutel MS.*,* as containing the most complete copy of the work as left by Fordun, unmixed with any matter that can be assigned to a later period. As it is word for word the same as in the foot-note, it is unnecessary to reproduce it here; the only difference being that, instead of appearing in the body of the chronicle, it is placed by Mr. W. F. Skene under

* Now in the ducal library there, and which appears originally to have belonged to the Priory of St. Andrews.

"The Historians of Scotland," *Vols. I. and IV., Edinb.*, 1871-2. "Johannes de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum," *edited by William F. Skene*, vol. i., p. 212. "John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation," *translated from the Latin text, by Felix J. H. Skene*, vol. ii., p. 370.

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"Gesta Annalia," and comprises (chap. clxxxv.) "De secunda desponsatione regis David." The translation by Mr. Felix J. H. Skene is as follows:—"*Second espousals of King David.* In the year 1363, the aforesaid Lord David, King of Scotland, took to wife, at Inchmurdach, a great lady named Margaret of Logie, of high and noble birth, and born in his kingdom; and he endowed her with many lands and possessions, and raised her to reign in honour with him, with the royal diadem."

As John of Fordun lived at the time of the marriage (his death being generally considered to have taken place in or shortly after the year 1385, when he was probably at an advanced age), and had himself seen a copy of the voluminous proceedings connected with the divorce, his testimony must be deemed almost unimpeachable; with the exception of the statement that the king lived with his wife "but a short time." This is proved to be incorrect, by the dates of the marriage and divorce; for from April, 1363, to January or February, 1369, a period of nearly six years, can hardly be called *parvum tempus.* But as the most reliable MSS., of Fordun's Chronicle give no such statement, and also have *Relicta* instead of *Filia*, as the relationship of Queen Margaret to Sir John de Logy, we may infer that the other readings adopted in *Goodall's* text of Fordun, and taken by him from the *MS. in the Edinburgh College Library*, is corrupt in these passages, and unreliable. The latest and best authority on the subject now remains to be noticed. *Mr. Felix Skene* is the first who has clearly succeeded in lifting the dark veil hitherto enveloping the parentage of this queen, and thus giving intimation of her true descent.

In the national series of the Early Chronicles of Scotland, there has just appeared "Liber Pluscardensis," or Book of Pluscarden, being the unpublished continuation of Fordun's Chronicle, by Master Maurice, of Buchanan, a Scottish clerk, who was Treasurer of the Princess Margaret of Scotland, the Dauphiness of France, from 1436, till her death in August, 1446.

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In the Book of Pluscardine, Buchanan (*Liber nonus*, p. 307), writes as follows :—

"Post hoc autem rex, convocatis regni majoribus, apud Enchemurthonw, (Inchmurthowis, in *Glasgow*, and Advocates' Library MSS., and Inchmurthow, *passim*, in Bodleian MS.), juramenta fidelitatis ab omnibus renovari fecit, xiii. die Januarii ejusdem anni" (1363 ?). "Hiis itaque stabilitis, disposuit se rex David ad disponsandum *Margaretam de Logi, filiam domini* MALCOLMI DE DRUMMOIND" (*Drummont*, in Glasgow, Bodleian, and Advocates' Library MSS.), nobilem [et] pulcherrimam dominam, apud Enchemarthow" (*Ynchemurthoes*, in Brussels MS., and *Inchmarthow*, in Glasgow MS.); "et in reginam magnifice exaltavit. Sed cum ea non tempore multo perduravit quin iterum divorcium celebravit, eo quod ipsa impregnatam" (*impringnatam*, in Bodleian MS.) "finxit et non fuit; et hoc circa festum Carnis Brevii, anno Domini M°CCC°LXIX." (LXIX., *interlined later above* IX. *scored through*). "Ad quod divorcium celebrandum non consencit regina; sed, clam" (*altered later from* jam) in navicula ascensa, curiam Romanam adivit. Sed quia curia papalis Avinione tunc temporis existebat, causam suam ibidem declarando et conquirendo apparuit" (*aperuit* in Glasgow, Bodleian, and Advocates' Library MSS.) et totum regnum Scociæ sua persecucione turbavit. Nam in tantum fuit causa ejusdem reginæ apud summum pontificem et cardinales recommendata" (*commendata*, in Brussels MS.), "quod, si ipsa vixisset, totum regnum interdictum fuisset, et matrimonium inter ipsam et regem Angliæ, eo tunc" (*tempore* added later), "uxore destitutum, celebratum fuisset. Rex vero David, occasione illius, tres filios Roberti Senescalli, nepotis sui, cum patre arestari et in artis custodiis singillatim deputari" (fecit *interlined* is *added* here in Bodleian MS.) Sed audito de ejus morte in curia summi pontificis, liberati erant cum libertate, et ad graciam regis recepti. Post hoc autem rex David regnum suum optime rexit, leges renovavit et rebelles castigavit, et in tranquillitate et pace vixit; et in fine dierum se ad Sanctam Terram iturum promisit." ["Liber

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Pluscardensis," *edited by Felix J. H. Skene*, vol. i., p. 307, *Edinb.*, 1877, *being* vol. vii. of "The Historians of Scotland.]

The text is from the *Marchmont MS.*, as being the most easy of access, but has been carefully collated with all the other MSS., namely, those in the Glasgow College Library; Advocates Library, Edinb.; Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, so that thus every variation is carefully noted, and the remarkable agreement of all of them, in every important particular, renders the above new and singularly interesting statements regarding the events of 1363-1369 all the more credible, and places them beyond any reasonable cavil or doubt, even in the opinion of the severest historical critics.

Having now ascertained that the widowed Lady of Logy was the daughter of *Lord Malcolm de Drummond*, and consequently of noble birth, and a dame of universally acknowledged beauty and fascination, the question arises as to the identification of her father.

The only Sir Malcolm de Drummond known in Scottish history at that period was a gallant knight and staunch adherent of the House of Bruce during the wars with England, in its support of Edward Baliol's claims to the throne; when King Edward the Third of England deprived him of a portion of the lands in Perthshire, conferred upon his father, of the same name, by King Robert the First in 1315-16, and granted it in 1334 to Sir John Clinton, as a punishment for his patriotism and adherence to the national cause. King David confirmed to him the lands of Dronan and Tulliecravan, in the sheriffdom of Perth; and also granted a charter of the Coronership of Perthshire. [Robertson's "Index," 4to., p. 37, No. 17; p. 39, No. 50.] Sir Malcolm died in the year 1346, leaving three sons. [Wood's Douglas, Edinb., 1813, vol. ii., p. 358.] No daughters are mentioned, nor his wife's name. If Margaret was the daughter of this Sir Malcolm Drummond, as appears to be almost certainly the case, this relationship will account satisfactorily for a payment which has hitherto escaped notice, in the "Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of

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Scotland rendered to the Exchequer (Edinb., 4to., 1836, vol. i., pp. 481—484). Camerarius Scocie XLVII.—Ballivus de Kingorne, et de Terris *Regine* infra vicecomitatum de Perth, MCCCLXVIII ; the *Compotus* of Adam de Spens, bailiff of Kingorne, rendered at Perth, on January 11, 1368, to Walter de Biggar, rector of Errol, and dominus John de Carrick, canon of Glasgow, deputed for the purpose by *our lady the Queen*."

After recording numerous payments from various sources, the last complete entry refers to a sum of £54 6s. 8d. from the lands of Dull, in Athole, which the Queen received at the last settlement or assignment made through her chamberlain "in manu *Johannis de Logy* ex concessione *Regine* nostre de terris de *Stobhall*, *Kergyll*, et *Kyndeloch* que consuever valer Camerarius regine £35 3s. 6d. que in manu *Malcolmi de dromond* ex concessione Regine," &c., and we find that M. de Dromund had Kyendell. [Act Parl., Scot., I. 186, *et postea*.]

Here two names occur, in close proximity, and both with reference to lands in Perthshire, Stobhall, Cargill, and Kindeloch, which are known to have belonged to the family of Drummond, and now appear in possession of the Queen, by whom they were gifted away, "ex concessione regine nostre." These possessions are recorded as having been acquired by Sir John de Drummond as part of the dowry he received with his wife, Marie Muschet, the eldest of the three daughters and co-heiresses of William de Montefixo, styled Lord Treasurer of Scotland (his other two daughters lost their lands, Margaret Muschet by "forfaultrie," as also her sister, Dornagill Montefixo, for the same offence) [Robertson's "Index," 33, 31, 59-1, and 61-3], during the reign of King David II.

The first mentioned, John de Logy, was the son of Queen Margaret, as will be proved hereafter; and the other *Malcolm de Drummond*, was her nephew, if our theory is correct, for the concession in the Chamberlain's Accounts strongly corroborates it. This Malcolm de Drummond was eldest son and heir of Sir John de Drummond, who received from King David (his sister's husband?) a charter of the

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office of Baillierie of Abthane of Dull, mentioned in the *Compotus*, as forming part of the Queen's possessions in Perthshire; and he was dead before March 30, 1372. [*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 113, and *Robertson's* "Index," 46, 46.]

Having succeeded his father as chief of the family of Drummond, Sir Malcolm of Concraig obtained many pecuniary favours from his brother-in-law, King Robert the Third, and on the death of his wife's brother, the gallant Earl of Douglas and Mar, without surviving legitimate male issue, at the battle of Otterburne—where he also fought—succeeded to the latter title, *jure uxoris* (Isabella de Douglas who d. 1419, s.p.) in 1388. Malcolm, Earl of Mar, is called in charters "the King's brother," and "Dominus de Marr," in a charter of March 5, 1399; he died issueless before May 27, 1403—perhaps somewhat earlier, having been suddenly surprised in his castle by a band of ruffians, and imprisoned till his death; at the instigation, it is believed, of Alexander Stewart, natural son of the Wolf of Badenoch, who shortly afterwards married the widowed countess, which union was ratified by a charter under the great seal, Jan. 21, 1405, by their weak though amiable sovereign, his uncle Robert III.

With reference to one portion of Queen Margaret's possessions, namely, the lands of Kyndeloch in Perthshire, there formerly existed a charter, granted by King "Davy"—"Davidi Senescallo, filio Roberti Senescalli Scotie Comitis de Stratherne, annui redditus de tenemento de *Kyndeloch*, in vic. de Perth; apud Perth, 27 Octob. a. r. 41," A.D. 1369 (*Robertson's Index*, p. 91, no. 264). As this was in the same year that the divorce had been granted in the Scottish ecclesiastical tribunals, it seems that the fickle monarch had by this time resumed some at least of the lands with which he had previously endowed his wife in so profuse a manner. This *David* was the king's grand-nephew, and eldest son of the second marriage of Robert the Stewart, then Earl of Stratherne, and afterwards King Robert the Second; he was born about 1356, and created on his father's accession to the throne, in 1371, Earl Palatine of Strathern, and Earl of Caith-

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ness before Nov., 1375, his death being presumed to have taken place before 1389.

The wife of John, Earl of Carrick, afterwards King Robert the Third, was also a daughter of the house of Drummond, but it is unnecessary here to refer more than cursorily to "Dame Anabil," or to her close relationship to the subject under review. She is known to have been the daughter of Sir John Drummond by Marie de Montefixo (*Muschet*), the heiress of Stobhall and other baronies in Perthshire—was married at some period between 1357 and 1377—crowned Queen of Scotland, at Scone, by John of Peblis, Bishop of Dunkeld, on Monday, August 15, 1390—and died in the harvest season of 1401; perhaps, a victim to the great pestilence which is known to have ravaged Scotland in that year, carrying off many noble persons, among whom, including the queen, were the three greatest in the realm—Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas, and Walter of Trayle, Bishop of St. Andrews.

If this filiation of Queen Margaret to the Drummonds of Stobhall is correct, she was consequently aunt to Queen Anabil, a family connection which opens up some interesting questions; more especially regarding the alleged imprisonment, "through her desire," in 1368-9 of the Seneschal of Scotland—Robert the Stewart—and of his son Alexander, afterwards Earl of Buchan and Ross, though better known as the "Wolf of Badenoch."

Before advancing further, a brief notice of King David the Second, and his first marriage, may not be irrelevant.

David de Bruys, was the only son of King Robert the First, by his second wife, Elizabeth de Burgo (eldest daughter of Richard the Red, Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught in Ireland), who died at Cullen, October 26, 1327, leaving issue, besides David, two, if not three daughters. The Prince of Scotland was born at Dunfermline monastery, on Monday, March 5, 1324. On the death of his heroic father, at Cardross Castle, on June 7, 1329, the young prince succeeded to the throne, under the regency of Thomas Ranulph, Earl of Moray, his first cousin. His coronation was delayed for upwards of

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two years, taking place in the palace of Scone—on Sunday, November 24, 1331, when he received the crown from James of Ben, Bishop of St. Andrews, specially appointed for that purpose by a Bull of Pope John the twenty-second, then reigning as Sovereign Pontiff, at Avignon, in France.

The successful invasion of Scotland by Edward de Baliol, eldest son of King John, in the summer of 1332, and his coronation as King of Scots, at Scone, on Sunday, September 27, of that year, dispossessed David of his throne for the time, and he was forced to take refuge in France, along with his young queen, about August, 1333. King Philip VI. treated the illustrious exiles with the greatest hospitality for about eight years, while they were unable to return to Scotland. In 1346 he invaded England, but was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Nevill's Cross, near Durham, on October 17 of that year; next, for a period of eleven years he was detained in captivity in England, being confined in the Tower and various other castles, and not finally liberated till October or November, 1357. He subsequently paid several visits to England during various years up to March, 1369; and died on February 22, 1371, in Edinburgh Castle, at the age of forty-seven, after a disastrous reign of nominally forty-two years and seven months.

The Princess Joanna Plantagenet, or "Joan of the Tower," from having been born in the Tower of London, in the end of 1321, or beginning of 1322 (she is always spoken of as seven years old at the time of her marriage), was the second and youngest daughter of Edward the Second, of England, by the Princess Isabelle of France, surnamed the Fair, second daughter of Philippe le Bel, King of France, and Jeanne, Queen of Navarre (born in 1292—married January 25, 1308—died August 22, 1358).

Her marriage to Prince David of Scotland was celebrated at Berwick-upon-Tweed, on Sunday, July 17, 1328, her child bridegroom being little above four years of age, while she was about three years older.

This marriage, or rather betrothal, was in accordance with

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the terms of the celebrated treaty of Northampton, by which peace was arranged between the two kingdoms, in a Parliament held there in May preceding, and the young bride was hence called by the Scots "Joan Make-peace." She was solemnly crowned, and also anointed, with her husband, at Scone, on November 24, 1331—the first time, it is believed, that part of the regal ceremonial had been performed in Scotland since the year 574, when St. Columba, the Apostle of Scotland, consecrated—"ordina vit,"—Aedhan Mac-Gabhran, at Iona, as seventh King of Dalriada, in Kintyre. [Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 198, 370.] She was in France, in exile with David, from 1333 to 1341; and several entries for payments made to her from August 14, 1362, occur in the Chamberlain's Accounts. In October, 1348, she rejoined David in his capitivity in the Tower of London, but was not allowed by her brother, King Edward the Third, to share his prison, and therefore returned to Scotland. In July, 1353, she received a safe-conduct until Christmas, as "Joan, wife of David de Bruys"—the royal style being disallowed—and again visited England, where she was received with kindness, though still separated from her husband, being provided with a residence in Hertford Castle. When David was finally liberated, she accompanied him on his return to his native land, in the latter part of 1357; but her stay was brief, as she was again in London in January, 1358, remaining there several months, until May following. Her final departure from Scotland—where she was much beloved—took place in the following year; and though David, who had also come to England in July of that year, when she consented to reside with him during his stay in London, left on his return to Scotland in February, 1359, she declined to accompany him on account of his reckless behaviour. She continued to reside at the castle of Hertford till her death, on September 7, 1362, at the age of forty; her last moments being affectionately attended by her excellent sister-in-law, Queen Philippa. [Cotton MS. *Galba*, vii., *f.* 447; and *Leland, Coll.*, ii., 5.]

Her remains were interred in the choir of the church of

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the Grey Friars, London, close to the tomb of her mother, Queen Isabella. [Mrs. Green's "*Lives of the Princesses of England*," vol. iii., pp. 98, 162.]

We resume the history of Queen Margaret. When she arrived in France, probably in the spring, or early in the summer, of 1369, she found that the Papal Court had been removed from Avignon—and that the reigning Pope, Urban the Fifth, a Frenchman, had temporarily succeeded in re-establishing his authority at Rome. But the residence of the Pontiff at Rome only continued till August, 1370, when he quitted that city, along with his cardinals; and embarking from Corneto, sailed on board a well-equipped squadron of ships, which was composed of various nationalities, landing at Marseille on September 16, and reaching Avignon on the 28th of the same month; but he died, at his former seat of government, on December 19 following, at the age of about sixty-four. [G. de Novaes, "*Storia de' Sommi Pontifici Roma*," 1821; vol. iii., pp., 182—89.]

It was a period of troubles, confusion, and war throughout the greater part of Europe, when travelling, either by land or sea, was both dangerous and difficult, and it must have been especially so to females, or travellers from foreign countries, while it is not quite clear from the Chronicles whether the queen actually proceeded to Rome, to lay her appeal before the courts there; but it appears more than probable that she did in the course of 1369, or early in 1370. *Boyce* states that she sought the Roman Court—which might be Rome or Avignon; *Bellenden*, that she passed to Avignon, "quhare the Paip held his seit for the time"—which was certainly not the case between April, 1367, and September, 1370; while Bishop *Lesley* actually mentions that she did proceed to Rome to lay her appeal before the Pope, while he further asserts that she died in that city after an interval of only a few days—"paucisque post diebus interpositis, spiritum extremum *in Vrbe* exhalavit,"—this last being evidently a misstatement *Fordun a Goodall* makes her die on the journey to Rome—"sed ipsa *Romipeta* moritur peregrina;" and the metrical

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chronicle of *Stewart* adds another scrap of information, as follows:—"This ilk Margaret apeillit hes to *Rome*, quhilk micht nocht weill so greit labour sustene in her travell, as my author did mene, pass and to Rome, as plesit God then best, scho take heir lief, and passit to hir rest." The inferences to be drawn from all these somewhat conflicting statements appear to be these:—that, in the early stages of her appeal, Margaret did proceed to Rome, as it certainly commenced during her husband's lifetime, or in 1369 and 1370; though the confusion caused by the unsettled state of the Papacy, and its subsequent return from Rome to Avignon in the autumn of the latter year, necessarily caused delay in the process. But it is evident that the Queen did obtain a favourable hearing of her case; and David, though he sent his envoys from Scotland, to defend the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts of that country, was unable to counteract the adverse impression in her favour which had been produced in the Roman Curia. It seems doubtful when her process was finally decided, though there can be no question as to her having succeeded in obtaining a reversal of the sentence of the Scottish tribunals, and in vindicating her position as an injured wife, as well as her continued right to the royal title. Whether all this took place previous to King David's death in February, 1371, is uncertain; but of course that event would necessarily put an end to her "restitution of conjugal rights." *Fordun*, or rather his continuator, who had seen a notarial copy of the proceedings, declares that the writings or pleadings exceeded in size the contents of four psalters ("literaturæ quatuor psalteriorum"). Innumerable delays and postponements must have been caused by the necessity for references and counter-references between Scotland and the distant Roman Curia; but that the reversal of the sentence of divorce took place before the death of Pope Urban the Sixth, in December, 1370, is probable on several grounds. After a brief vacancy of ten days in the occupancy of the holy see, Pope Gregory the eleventh, also a Frenchman, succeeded to the triple tiara; being elected on December 30,

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1370, ordained priest on January 4, 1371, and consecrated bishop as well as crowned at Avignon, on 5th of the same month [*Novaes, ut supra*, iii., pp. 192, 193], and we find him addressing a Bull, dated Jan. 30, 1371, to *Robert*, King of Scotland, which is quite inexplicable, as King David was then still living, and didnot die until three weeks subsequently. The date of the Bull cannot be erroneous, as it was in the *first* year of the new reign, and its tenor evinces that it was certainly not addressed to David; while it signifies that the Pope had received the two Scottish ambassadors most graciously, was well disposed to show every favour to the kingdom of Scotland and its affairs, and finally recommends to the careful and generous consideration of the king the restoration of the lands and rights of the illustrious *Margaret, Queen of Scotland.*

The following is the full Latin document:—

"Gregorius Episcopus, etc. Carissimo in Christo filio *Roberto* Regi Scotie Illustri, salutem, etc. Magnitudinis tue litteras, quas Venerabilis frater noster Walterus Episcopus Glasguensis, et dilectus filius Adam de Thiningham Decanus ecclesie Aberdonensis, nuncii tui, Nobis noviter detulerunt, recepimus gratiose, et tam ea, que prefate littere continebant, quam ea, que dicti nuncii nobis pro parte tua discrete oretenus retulerunt, intelleximus diligenter: at que te scire volumus, quod nos personam tuam Regnumque tuum sincero corde diligimus, ac gerimus in visceribus caritatis, et quantum cum Deo poterimus, intendimus favorabiliter prosequi vota tua, prout ab eisdem nunciis, quibus superhiis aperuimus latius mentem nostram, audies plenius viva voce.

"Ceterum cum Carissima in Christo filia nostra *Margareta Regina Scotie Illustris* pro recuperatione terre sue, iuriumque suorum multos labores sustinuerit et expensas tam apud sedem apostolicum, quam per alias diversas mundi partes discurrendo, et se ipsam diversis periculis exponendo, prout credimus tuam celsitudinem non latere, nec deceat honorem Regium maxime propter fragilitatem sexus, *et quia tibi est tanta sanguinis proximitate coniuncta*, sic eam per patriam permittere evagari. Nos eidem *Regine* paterno compatientes affectu, serenitatem tuam instanter et affectuo se rogamus quatenus pro nostra et sedis apostolice reverentia, et nostre intercessionis obtentu

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tuique honoris etiam intuitu prefatam Reginam habens propensius ac favorabiliter commendatam, sic te illi in restitutione terre iuriumque, suorum vel alias exhibcas gratiosum, quod ipsa possit et debeat merito contentari, nosque tibi proinde teneamur ad merita gratiarum. Datum Avinione, III. Kal. Februarii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo." [*Theiner.* "Vet. Monum. Hibern. et Scotorum," fol., *Romæ*, 1864, p. 350. No. DCLXXXV., "Epistolæ Gregorii, p. XI., *Reg. An. I. Secret*, fol. 304.]

This Pope is known to have dated his instruments in the year of his pontificate only. [*Nicolas*, "Chronology of History," *ed. London*, 1840, p. 203.]

The question, therefore, arises how it was that the two clerical ambassadors—both ecclesiastics of high rank—tacitly, at least, admitted the correctness of the papal Bull, when they must have been fully aware that Robert the Stewart had not then ascended the Scottish throne, and that David was still alive; for although both our latest historians, *Tytler* and *Burton*, place the date of his death in February, 1370, there is no doubt that it occurred afterwards, as he held a Parliament at Perth on October 23 following. [*Acta Parliamentorum David II.*, vol. i., p. 537.] It is impossible to understand this, for the date of the Bull is unimpeachable, and the only conclusion that can be arrived at is so improbable, though barely possible, that it may appear an extravagant one.

Unless David *resigned* his crown in the interval between October 23, 1370, and his death on February 22, 1371—of which there is no trace—then these ambassadors must have misrepresented to the Pope, that King Robert had then succeeded David, which can hardly be credited of them, thus to deceive the Holy See. But if such was the reason of this "pious fraud," can it be palliated on patriotic grounds? It was not quite a month since the accession of the new Pope, and his remarks in the Bull could only be in connection with the proceedings of his predecessor, so lately deceased, which are acknowledged by all our historians to have been such as carried dismay throughout Scotland. For a papal interdict, was actually impending over the whole realm

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at the close of 1370; and this dire sentence was apparently about to be fulminated, had not the death—real or supposed—of David occurred, opportunely for both himself and his subjects. The expression used in Bower's Fordun—*si supervixisset*—is ambiguous, and to reconcile it with the truth of history, as Lord Hailes suggests usual [*Annals, edit.* 1819, vol. ii., p. 320], we must suppose that either *Rex* or *Papa* is to be understood, and not *illa* or *Regina*, as it must have been known that the king pre-deceased his discarded queen; and it should probably be *Papa*—Urban V., who had taken up Margaret's injuries so strongly, having died at that time, and thus put an end to the threatened interdict. David, therefore, who was exceedingly headstrong and obstinate in his character, may have preferred abdication to submission to the dreaded thunders of Rome.

When Queen Margaret closed her chequered career is involved in obscurity.

The following facts (as recorded by *Riddell*, whose account I have almost literally adopted, as given in his *Appendix* on "Peerage and Consistorial Law," vol. ii., pp. 983—987) can be established by a contemporary public document: that the appeal was prosecuted by the Queen during the reigns of Popes Urban V. and Gregory XI.; that she obtained several sentences in her favour against her adversaries, which subjected the Scottish sovereign as well as the Scottish *community* to *danger*, obviously from the impending excommunication; that to ward the threatened evil, at the earnest entreaty of Robert II., King Charles V. of France had written many letters to the papal authorities at Avignon, craving delay; and that sharp and upbraiding language passed between the two monarchs, Robert reflecting upon Charles for not fulfilling his promise of effectual intervention, and extrication from the calamity; while Charles defended himself against the charge, and complained of the harsh tone of the other. All this is set forth in a notarial instrument, dated January 31, 1375, and forwarded

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through the Scottish ambassadors to the French king—and the reply of that monarch to it, in the quarto vellum MS. transmitted to Scotland, in 1793, from the State Paper Office:—it is printed in *Robertson's* "Parliamentary Records" (pp. 129-130, &c.), and referred to in *Robertson's* "Index" (pp. 100, 101, No. 4).

Further still, Robert II., in his anxious communication with respect to a matter that he admits tenderly touches him, impresses upon Charles that both *he* and his *community* are likely still "estre *plus dommagiez*, et en *dangier*, se ils ne se peuent par temps, pourueoir de *remede*." He therefore beseeches him affectionately, "*empetrer* du saint père, que *les sentences* qui *sunt donnees* (*for the Queen*) soient RAPELLEES; and also demands that the matter be restored to its original state, just as if these had not passed! King Charles, in his answer to his brother's request, professes himself ready to assist King Robert, and to write again in support of his petition to the Pope and Cardinals. All this, plainly evinces that Margaret,—and who is even styled "royne d'Escoce" by the French king,—was in the right, and had a just cause; her opponents, being now obliged in their turn to figure as appellants, judgment having repeatedly gone against them. It is probable, that England politically aided Margaret in the course of her long process, in order to disturb and perplex the Scottish Government, especially as the money she borrowed in 1372, at Avignon, was advanced to her by London merchants, not unlikely by authority of Government; and her bond for the repayment of this loan appears among the English Public Acts, as the obligation of "*Margareta* Regina Scotie, uxor quondam Domini Davidis de Bruys, olim Regis Scotie illustris, jam defuncti," for 500 merks lent by Adam Franceys, and other merchants at Avignon [*Rymer's* "Fœdera," *R.* iii., pt. ii., p. 948; *O.* vi. 727; *H.* iii., pt. ii., 98], dated at Avignon, June 23, 1372. Also on March 24, 1374, she obtained a passport, or safe-conduct, from King Edward III. for England, with liberty to remain there two years. [Rymer, *ut supra R.*

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iii., pt. ii., p. 1001; *O.* iii., 35: *H.* iii., pt. iii., 16.] The "Rotuli Scotiæ" give the document thus:—

"Salvus Conductus pro Regina Margareta, vidua Davidis regis Scotiæ.—Nobilis domina Margareta que fuit uxor carissimi fratris regis David de Bruys de Scotia, habet literas Regis de conductu veniendo cum quadraginta personas et corum servientibus garçonibus et equis in comitiva sua per dominium et potestatem Regis in regnum Regis Angliæ quocumque sibi placiui et ibidem morando. per biennium duratur. T. R. apud Westin xxiv. die Martii anno regni nostri Angliæ quadragesimo octavo." [Vol. i. p. 962, membr. 5.]

Whether Queen Margaret did arrive in England during the period of her safe-conduct is not satisfactorily established, though she must still have been living in January, 1375, and probably died either in that year or before the expiry of her safe-conduct, which extended to March, 1376. The probabilities suggest her having died at *Avignon*, but certainly neither at *Rome*, nor returning thence; for the papal court did not leave Avignon for Italy until September, 1376, when Pope Gregory XI., with his court and cardinals, finally departed from that city, embarking at Marseilles on October 12, and arriving at Rome on January 17, 1377. [Novaes, *ut supra*, iii., pp. 207-208, *et seq.*]

With regard to the parentage of Queen Margaret we have received from Mr Burnett, Lyon King of Arms, the following statement:—

"I am inclined to believe that the Book of Pluscardine is right as to her parentage, and that she was the daughter of Sir Malcolm Drummond, and aunt of Robert III's. queen. When I came years ago to the conclusion, on armorial evidence, that she was a Drummond, I was not aware of the assertion about her paternity in the Pluscardine MS.—which seemed to have been overlooked by every one who had written on the subject. My conclusion was formed purely from an examination of the Seal in the Record Office, which is rather inaccurately described in Laing's Catalogue. Nisbet gives as his authority for the coat he assigns to Logie of that ilk "Balfour's MS." Any one who has dipped at all into the MSS., heraldic and genealogical, of Sir James Balfour, cannot fail to remark how, whenever he has occasion to blazon a coat from a seal, he

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unhesitatingly gives the rein to his imagination, and supplies the colours *ad libitum*; he had encountered this seal, and blazoned it in his usual manner, under the belief that Margaret was a Logie by birth, and hence the imaginary coat of Logie of that ilk. MSS. of higher authority, including some in the Lyon Office, give the coat of that family variously,—*Gules, three chevronells argent;* and *Argent, two chevronells sable, between three roses gules.* This, however, does not correspond with the second shield on Queen Margaret's seal—at least, so it seemed to me,—but the impression was so defaced that I could make little of it. There was, if I remember rightly, something on it that might possibly have been a *fesse*, but nothing to suggest to to me a *fesse checquy*.*

Mr. Riddell has the following notice of a seal of Queen Margaret in the year 1367, before her divorce :—

"There is an authentic certified copy existing, of an original grant by 'Margaret Logy, Queen of Scotland,' in 1367 (once in possession of the Scottish college at Paris), to William de Kirkintulloch, with a description of her seal appended to it, exhibiting, in the upper part, the Royal Arms of Scotland, supported by two Lyons (the old Scottish supporters, which continued even to the reign of James III., if not later), and in the lower, the Queen in the Royal habit, crowned, holding a sceptre, between two shields of arms, '*gentilitia*,' that are not described, possibly her former husband's and her own."

It is now necessary to give an account of the circumstances connected with the history of Queen Margaret previous to her royal marriage in 1363, and to relate what has been ascertained regarding her first husband, *Sir John of Logy* and his family. The earliest mention of the family of Logy is in the year 1320, when a mysterious conspiracy was discovered to exist against the life of King Robert I., the secret plot being revealed by the Countess of Strathern. But measures were so promptly adopted that in a parliament held at Scone in the beginning of the month of August, 1320, and which was called "The Black Parliament," the conspirators were tried, William de Soulis—the original contriver—and the Countess of Strathern, being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; while the other conspirators, including the king's own nephew, Schir David the Brechyn, having been

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convicted of these crimes, were "drawin, hangit, and headit ilkane," as traitors. The destruction of all record of their trial renders it difficult to throw any light on the details of this conspiracy; and the only authorities on the subject exist in the pages of *Fordun a Goodall* [ii., 274; *lib.* xiii. c. i.] and *Barbour's* "Brus" [*Spalding Cl. edit.*, *4to.*, *Aberdeen*, 1856, pp. 438—440], while no mention of it is found in *Wyntoun's* "Cronykil." Among the conspirators was "*Sir Johne of Logy*, Knicht," who suffered the punishment of his treason in August, 1320; but Lord *Hailes* further remarks of him: "From a charter granted by Robert Bruce to the Blackfriars at Perth, there is some reason to suspect that John de Logie was forfeited at an earlier period. That charter is dated *2nd Feb.*, *anno regni nostri quarto decimo*, and mentions the tenement of Logy, *quod fuit* quondam *Johannes de Logy*, *militis*, *et quod forisfecit.* This charter is in the Archives of the borough of Perth." As Bruce ascended the throne on the 27th March, 1306, *the 2nd day of February in the fourteenth year of his reign* seems to be 2nd February, 1319-20. ["Annals of Scotland," 3rd. *edit.*, *8vo.*, *Edinburgh*, 1819, vol. ii., p. 119, *note.*]

The lands of Sir John would, necessarily, have become forfeited for his crime of high treason; but he left a son, also named *John of Logy*, who is considered to have been the first husband of Queen Margaret. Of his history little is known, though he was certainly restored to a portion at least of his patrimonial possessions during the reign of King David II., as appears from the following parliamentary proceedings of a Council held at Dundee on April 5, 1359, when a royal charter was granted of the lands of Strongartnay to Sir John de Meneteth:—

"Dauid Dei gra. Rex Scottorum. Omnibus probis hominibus. Tocius terre sue Salutem. Sciatis quod cum nos alias per suggestionem quorumdem. Terras de Strongartnay, cum pertinentibus tunc infra vice-com. de Perth, nunc autem infra vice-com. de Striueleyn a Johanne de Meneteth, milite consanguineo nostro, tunc plenam et pacificam earumdem terras, possessionem habente in nostris manibus Recepimus, et *quondam Johannem de loghi*, infeodatauimus nostris literis in

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eisdem. Reminiscentes memoriter per nostrum consilium uerius informati quod venerande memorie dominus pater noster easdem terras cum pertinentibus, tanquam ipsum ex forisfacto *quondam Johannis de loghy militis, patris eiusdem, quondam Johannis de loghi,* contingentes dedit hereditarie, et concessit ac carta sua quam vidimus confirmauit, in liberam baroniam quondam Johanni de Meneteth militi, patri predicti Johannis de Meneteth et Elene de marr sponse eiusdem nepoti sue coniunctim et heredibus eorundem, tanquam in puro ac libero maritagio, prout in carta predicta plenius continetur. Ipsique in dicta baronia obierunt vestiti legittime et saisiti. Vniuersitati vestre tenore presente, volumus esse notum, quod nos dicti Johanni de meneteth militi consanguineo nostro eumdem statum predicte baronie de Strongartnay, cum pertinentibus concedimus per presentes secundum tenorem dicte carte, et ad talem possessionem omnino Restauramus eum, et plane admittimus quem statum qualemque possessionem habuit, ante tempus donacionis nostre dicto *quondam Johanni de loghy*, inde facte non obstante donacione huismodi, nos dicto Johanni de meneteth militi, aut suis heredibus preiudicium aliquod valente facte in futuro. Cum ipsam eciam inter, ceteras donaciones nostras alias factas in pleno parliamento nostro, port deliberacionem nostram ab Anglia, primo tento. Reuocauimus et tenore presente specialiter Reuocamus. Presertim Considerato similiter quod predictum Johannem de Meneteth militem, a statu et possessione terre sue Recuperate de iure nequaquam potuimus iuste deiicere nisi recompensacione debita, alibi sibi facta. In cuius Rei Testimonium. Has literas nostras dicto Johanni de meneteth, pro se et suis heredibus, fieri fecimus Patentes. Apud Dunde, in Consilio nostro tento ibidem, Quinto die Aprilis, anno regni nostri, vicesimo nono."—["Acta Parliamentorum David II."]

This document is interesting, as it establishes the forfeiture of *Sir John of Logy* in 1320, when the barony of Strongartnay in Perthshire, one of his possessions then forfeited to the Crown, was granted by Robert I., to Sir John of Menteth, the second son of Walter Stewart (*Balloch*), Earl of Menteth, *jure uxoris*, 1258—1295, and who, according to popular tradition, has been considered as the betrayer of the patriot, Wallace. [*Cf.* "Hailes' Annals," i., 343, *et passim.*]

Riddell writes thus:—

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"There is an original charter of David II. in the Marr charter chest, dated 5th of April, 1357-8, wherein he states that he had infeoffed '*quondam Johannem de loghi*,' in the lands of Strongartnay, in Perthshire; but being subsequently apprised by his council that his father Robert Bruce had formerly granted the latter, which had then escheated to the Crown, 'ex *forisfactione* quondam *Johannis* de loghy militis, *patris* ejusdem quondam *Johannis de loghi*,'—'quondam Johanni de Meneteth militi—et Elene *de Marr* sponse ejusdam, nepte sue, conjunctim, et heredibus eorundem,' he now, therefore, recalls his grant alluded to, and restores the lands in question to Sir John de Meneteth, the son of these parties, 'consanguineo nostro,' from whom they had been thus taken; "per suggestionem *quorundem*' (a convenient *kingly* mode of excuse). Holding that the *deceased* John de Loghi, son of the attainted John, was of Logie, which also lay in Perthshire, as is not improbable, and hence presumptively the husband of Margaret Logie, Queen of Scotland, she necessarily must have been at least a widow in 1357-8, the date of the above charter, that is some years before she married David II. (about 1363); whose prior benefaction, thus obliged to be recalled on legal grounds in favour of her husband, is curious. From thence it likewise additionally follows that she could not have been very young, as transmitted by some, at the epoch of her second marriage. The father of her conceived first husband was evidently the Sir John de Logy who, according to Fordun in 1320 (in the reign of Robert Bruce), suffered capitally, as a traitor, for his concern in the Soulis, or Countess of Strathern's conspiracy,—whose husband's estates besides were comprised in Perthshire; and there are added as *notes*, 'Here though married agreeably to our custom, Elen (through whom the Erskines succeeded to the earldom of Marr) still retains her maiden appellation,' and with reference to the execution of Sir John of Logy in 1320,—*Fordun.* Goodall's Edit., vol. ii., p. 274. He and others were then 'equis tracti' and 'capite puniti."

The date is placed here *earlier* than it ought to be, and differently from that given in the Act of Parliament, or Council, already quoted, which last *is* 'From the original Charter in the charter-chest of the Earl of Mar.' [*Appendix*, pp. 1048-9, to "Inquiry" *ut supra*.] The date given there is April 5, in the 29th year of the reign of David II., which was from June 7, 1357, to June 6, 1358, though in the Act of Parliament the

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year 1359 is assigned ; this may be owing to a strange unexplained peculiarity connected with David's *regnal* years, which after 1357 are in every instance *one year short of the truth*, when the year of the Christian era, as well as that of his reign, is given. [*Cf. Nicolas's* "Chronology of History," *ed.* 8vo., 1840, p. 381. *Note by* Thomas Thomson.]

Riddell has the following important remarks confirmatory of *John de Logy* being the son of Queen Margaret by her first marriage :—

"With respect to the above remarkable woman I have found the following original piece of evidence in the Errol Charter chest, that valuable repository of ancient Scottish muniments and documents. It is a solemn compact, bond, and obligation, dated at Edinburgh, the penult of November, 136 . . . (the *full* date of the year being unfortunately worn away), by 'Johannes Kennedy, Dominus de Dunure' (ancestor of the noble family of Ailsa and Cassilis), to the former, there styled 'Excellentissima Domina mea, domina Margareta dei gratia Regina Scotie,' and to '*ipsius filius*, nobilis vir et potens *Johannes de Logy*, dominus ejusdem,' whereby, for onerous causes, he binds himself, 'ad essendum de *eorum retinentia*, pro toto tempore vita sue,' to labour with them, and to *warn* them of *all snares*, 'cum *tota potentia* hominum meorum, sine fictione qualitercunque—infra regnum Scotie, et precipue, infra Dominium Vallis Annandie,' under the usual reservation of the King's authority. 'Et si contingat' (he concludes) 'me contra premissa, vel aliquid premissorum, aliquid facere, vel in aliquo contravenire, quod absit;' then in such event, 'obligo me ex-tunc, et ipso facto, esse reprobatum, et *defectum*, necnon *falsum perjuratum, fide mentitum. Et omni honore armorum, in perpetuum, carentem.*' The clenching penalty here, of loss or forfeiture of the 'honour of arms,' as the *climax* of *every* turpitude and condign infliction—the severest to a feudal baron and warlike Baron,—is finely characteristic of that chivalrous period." [*ut supra*, pp. 982-3.]

John de Kennedy of Dunure had a charter of those lands from David II., in January, 1357-8, but appears to have been subsequently forfeited in the reign of the same monarch. [*Robertson's* "Index," p. 312, No. 6.] In the "Rotuli Scotiæ," [vol. i., p. 916, a] there is a safe-conduct from King

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Edward III., dated at Westminster, October 26, 1367, to "Johannes de Logy de Scotie, cum duodecim equitibus," granting him permission to travel from Scotland to England, and to return thence unmolested, for a period extending to the festival of S. Michael. This safe-conduct is also recorded in *Rymer's* "Fœdera," on the same date, where it is mentioned as being "for James de Douglas, son of Sir John de Douglas, Thomas Erskyne, son of Sir Robert de Erskine, and *eleven* other Scots, coming to England as *pilgrims*." [*Hardy's* "Syllabus," vol. i., p. 446.]

From these facts it is evident that Queen Margaret's *first* husband, *Sir John of Logy* was *dead* before April, 1359, leaving a son as the issue of the marriage, John fourth of Logy. Allowing the usual period of thirty-three years to a generation, it is possible to arrive at an approximate calculation of the descent, as *Sir John II.* of Logy was *infra ætatem*, about 1295-6; which might place his birth about 1278, supposing him to have been *eighteen* years of age when he performed his homage to King Edward; he would have been forty-two when executed in 1320. His son and heir, *John III.*—born about 1310—must have been a child of ten on the forfeiture of his father, Sir John; and his marriage to *Margaret of Drummond* would consequently have been before 1340: he died in 1358-9, also leaving a son, *John*, designated "of Logy," in April, 1363, when the Thanedom of Tannadice was granted him by David II., at the time of his marriage to "Dame Mergret of Logy," mother of John, which took place in the same month at Inchmurdoch.

John IV. of Logy must then have been "of full age," which would place his birth in 1341-2; and he had evidently arrived at manhood previous to his pilgrimage to England in 1367. These dates retrograde Queen Margaret's birth to 1323, if she was married to John de Logy in 1340, when eighteen, which is a fair deduction from the facts; she was thus left a *widow*, in 1358-9—at thirty-six, and became Queen of Scotland in April, 1363, at the age of forty. From the next entry in the *Chamberlain Rolls*, it would appear that Margaret was a

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grandmother in 1363, which is possible enough if her son married in 1361, at the age of twenty, and had a child born in the year 1362. In the accounts rendered to Sir Robert de Erskyne, Chamberlain of Scotland, at Stirling on December 11, 1364, for the period extending back to April 1, 1363, there occurs the following payment, made to Adam Tore: "Et JOHANNI DE LOGY *seniori* de dono Regis iij. lib., vj. solid., viij. d." ["Compotus Camerarii Scocie," vol ii., p. 425.] *Johannes de Logy* can only have been Queen Margaret's son, while, from his being styled *senior*, he must have had a son of the same name, John *junior*, then an infant (so designated to distinguish him from his father), and who could not have been born much before 1361-2.

In the archives preserved in the charter-room at Slaines Castle, belonging to the Earl of Errol, there is a copy of a letter, dated at Edinburgh, May 5, 1389, by which King Robert II.'s eldest son, John, Earl of Carrick, attests that, within the Castle of Edinburgh, on Whit Sunday, May 26, 1387, his brother Robert, Earl of Fyfe and of *Menteth*, resigned to *John of Logy*, son and heir of the deceased *John of Logy*, knight, his lands of *Logy* and *Strogartnay*. [*Robertson's* "Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff."]

This gives another generation of the family of Logy, and most probably refers to Queen Margaret's son or grandson, restored to his ancestral estates. The family of "*Logie* of that ilk" ended in an heiress, another *Margaret of Logy*, before October 4, 1493; on that date there passed a royal charter under the great seal in favour of her husband, *Thomas Hay*, second son of William, third Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable of Scotland, and the Lady Isabel of Gordon, daughter of George, second Earl of Huntly. The estate of *Logy*, or Logie-almond, left the Errol family for the Drummonds, a branch of the house of Perth, by whose female representative Sir Archibald Douglas Drummond Stewart, Bart., of Grandtully and Murthly Castle, Perthshire, the property is now possessed.

Queen Margaret performed several *pilgrimages* to England

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from 1364 until 1368, her favourite shrine being that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, where her husband, King David, sometimes accompanied her, though he seems to have preferred the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, in Norfolk.

1364, February 20, *Westminster*. Separate safe-conducts were issued to King David for Walsingham, and to Queen Margaret for Canterbury. ["Rot. Scot.," i., p. 881, *a. membr.* 9; "Fœdera," R.III., pt. ii., 723.; O. vi. 435; H. III., pt. ii., 86.]

1364, August 20, *Henele*. Separate safe-conducts to "David de Bruys, frater noster," for Walsingham, and "*Margareta* uxor David de Bruys" to *Canterbury*, with thirty horses, &c., with each of their trains of attendants; and to continue until the following feast of the Purification, or February 2, 1365. ["Rot. Scot.," i., 884, I. *membr.* 6.] It would appear that David did not then avail himself of the above passport, as another was granted him—"In Anglia *denuo* peregrinaturo"—on this occasion to visit St. Thomas of Canterbury with thirty horses, &c., and to last till Michaelmas following, or September, 1365. ["Rot. Scot.," i., 887, *b. membr.* 3; and "Fœdera," R. III., pt. ii., 754; O. vi., 451; H. III., pt. ii., 92.] David made another pilgrimage to Canterbury, unaccompanied by his wife, from May 20, 1365, till Michaelmas.

1366. January 12, Westminster. *Margaret* had a safe-conduct, as "uxor David de Bruys," to last *for one year*, for the purpose of visiting Canterbury and the shrine of its martyred archbishop St. Thomas; she made this pilgrimage *alone*, with forty horses and the usual number of followers. ["Rot. Scot.," i., 899, *a. membr.* 1; "Fœdera," R. III., pt. ii., 781; O. vi., 494; H. III., pt. ii., 104.]

1366, March 18, Westminster. A safe-conduct, was granted to "David de Bruys," also to "*Margareta* uxor D. de Bruys," and to Patrick de Dunbarre, Earl of March in Scotland, to visit the tomb of St. Thomas, at Canterbury. David's passport was to extend for three years. From the brief interval between these two safe-conducts it is questionable whether Queen Margaret made use of that of the previous January.

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1368, January 4. Safe-conduct given to "David de Bruys frater hoster et *Margareta* uxor ejus," to visit St. Thomas's tomb at Canterbury; the duration of their pilgrimage to be to the following Easter, and also to continue until Easter, 1369. ["Rot. Scot.;" "Fœdera," R. III.] This was the last pilgrimage which the royal pair performed together. The succeeding visit to England on March 10, 1369, was undertaken only "by *David* de Bruys de Scotie," "ad nos in regnum nostrum Anglie de licentia nostra *ex certis causis*." ["Rot. Scot.;" "Fœdera," R. III.] This journey was evidently undertaken after he had obtained the divorce from his wife, which took place shortly after Feb. 14, 1369, and was doubtless connected with the event.

King David made the last of his visits to England in the succeeding year, his safe-conduct is dated at Westminster, Feb. 28, 1370; the period of stay was, by a subsequent document of October 1, extended to two years. ["Rot. Scot.;" "Fœdera," R. III.]

Under the year 1371 is an "Acquittance of the receipt of certain money received of *Margaret*, wife of David King of Scots, dated 23rd June, 47 Edw. III.," A.D. 1373. [*Ayloffe's* "Calendars of the Ancient Charters," &c.]

The career of Queen Margaret has been traced up to the year 1375. But for her death intervening, she would, it is alleged, have become the wife of Edward III. of England, who, by the death of his queen, Philippa of Hainult, was a widower in 1369; he was then beyond sixty. [*Liber Pluscardensis*, i. 307.]

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THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY IN CANADA.

By SYDNEY ROBJOHNS, Esq.,
Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

In recent lectures delivered at Birmingham Mr. Froude referred to the strained relations existing between England and the colonies, and indicated the temporary nature of the present arrangement. The question, in his opinion, is one which if left to the course of events will settle itself by the colonies drifting further away; but that if this people deem the continued union of the empire worth struggling for, and prepare themselves to encounter and overcome difficulties, then might accrue advantage to Great Britain and benefit to all English-speaking people. To quote Doctor Parker Peps, the country "must be called upon to make a vigorous effort in this instance; but if our interesting friend should not be able to make that effort successfully, then a crisis must arise." But Mr. Froude apparently falls into a similar error to Sir Julius Vogel, who imports Will into a subject which is one of natural forces only and purely. An important section of the Liberal party cannot "design or favour" the break-up of the empire, at their will; neither can Mr. Froude nor Mr. Forster, whatever their wishes may be, suggest a practical basis of permament legislative union. Lord Blachford, Mr. Goldwin Smith, and others may indicate the tendency of natural forces, may mark on a chart the course of the Gulf Stream; but who can resist those forces? If one dare to predict at all, the growth of nationality in our colonies and the capacity of the Anglo-Saxon race point to another and a more beneficent result than even the federation of the British Empire, namely, the union consequent upon a common

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interest, opinion, language, and sympathy, of the English-speaking people throughout the world.

And a forecast of that character is warranted by a careful and appreciative study of the social and political growth which is discernible in the colonies as well as the independent States of America, during the period of the present century. As the *Times* says, "not one in a thousand of us at home has the least idea of the significance of movements in those countries, even if he is interested in them"; but the process of evolution has been going forward even while men slept; and it is now evident, as the Bishop of Peterborough affirms, that* to this country has been given a great colonial empire which will eventually become independent nations. One of the colonies at least, the Dominion of Canada, has arrived at the stage of maturity; and it is only reasonable that she should now aspire to the status of a nation, and not rest content with the scant courtesy which is accorded, as Mr. Froude says, to "poor relations." By discipline, patience, and energy she has attained to her present position, and in her history lies hidden the secret of her political destiny. Her growth from a rude settlement to an important marine and mercantile people is the story of a development, in a few years, of the same spirit of freedom and self-confidence which has pervaded the English people ever since the remote period when Britain too comprised little but wild, uncleared lands; and her success illustrates the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, as colonists, over the French, Spanish, or Portuguese. With the Frenchman the phrase "Christ and the king" was a palliative for much self-seeking; and the Spaniard's legend, "The world for St. Peter and the Indies for the King of Spain," was a union of piety and loyalty which left ample scope for the personal enrichment of the Don from Castile, or the cowherd from Seville. From the day that the Intendants unfurled the fleur-de-lys over the factory at Quebec, and the Jesuit impressed his footprint on the foreshore of Florida, to the last day of enterprise under the ensigns of France

* *Times*, Nov. 27, 1877.

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and Spain, the record is one of cruelty and plunder; and the heritage bequeathed by the adventurers of those nations is seen in the anarchy and discord of the South American continent, and in the unrule which prevails on the Mexican border of the United States.

But Anglo-Saxon colonization has been of another order. Its motive power has been a principle instead of a shibboleth. Not always recognised perhaps, or the Pilgrim Fathers, for instance, would not have started with an ecclesiastical polity, but pervading all their extra-insular enterprise there is everywhere traceable the spirit of democracy. Concurrent with the principle, and growing out of it, is the sentiment of nationality. As in the United States of America, which had grown up from a mere pioneer settlement down by the sea, into a great nation, so within the borders of British North America can be seen the process of development, progressing from the cessation of the French *régime* onward, decade by decade, towards the consummation formulated by Abraham Lincoln in the aphorism, "The government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The invasion of Canada by the Americans after the battle, or, more correctly speaking, the skirmish of Lexington, is noteworthy as marking a period of transition in Canadian sympathy and opinion. The feudalism which the French had attempted to plant on the virgin soil of America had withered away; while nationality apart from the Old World was yet a nebulous idea. This latter fact was not realized by the Americans; but, presuming only on the former, they invaded the country, and were greatly surprised that the settlers did not flock to their standard. But neither did the Canadians respond to the summons which the Viceroy, General Carleton, issued to the seigniors and their tenants, to enter on the military service due to their lord the king. At ease in their holdings, regular and prompt in the payment of quit rents, the *habitants* repudiated any further obligation either to king or seignior. They neither knew nor cared about King George over the sea and his quarrel with his former subjects across

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the New England border. Even an appeal from the altar, at the instance of Bishop de Briand, was ineffective. Feudalism was dead seed on the American continent, notwithstanding the long and firm hold of the ancient French power and institutions upon the territories of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi valleys; and thus actually, though not historically, Mr. Matthew Arnold was accurate when he said that the colonies, like the United States, had "no feudal past, and were not settled by a class with feudal habits and ideas."* Failing compulsory service, Carleton made an appeal to the immigrants, and with these and his regular troops repelled the invaders. At Montreal he defeated the American leader Ethan Allan, whom finally he forwarded, with other prisoners of war, as some say, to Pendennis Castle, in the beautiful Falmouth harbour; where they had both the leisure and the opportunity of pondering on the massiveness of the Old World hereditary system as exemplified in prison walls and the girdle of the sea. At Quebec Carleton was further successful in overcoming another of his enemies, one Montgomery. That officer had held a commission under General Wolfe; but marrying an American lady, Miss Livingston, he, for the love he bore her, espoused what was called the colonial cause. His defeat by Carleton was sealed with his death. He fell only less gloriously than his aforetime master, and left his blood-stains in the snow.

Compared with European wars this invasion of Canada was but a storm in a teacup; but, as in greater events, it had a significance of its own. As we have said, it marked the transition from feudalism to self-government in Canada: and it indicated the pernicious and reactionary influence of the so-called "democrats" within the American republic. The warfare in which the United States Government has been involved has been slight indeed; but it may be safely said that such as there has been "has been mostly the result of the manœuvres of the party which clings most tenaciously to the wrack of barbaric times and barbaric ideas." It was

* *Fortnightly Review*, March, 1878.

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the policy of the "democrat" which projected the invasion of Canada under Ethan Allan and Montgomery, and it has been the same spirit of reaction which has involved the States in all their wars from the Napoleonic era down to the War of Secession—the hand of the actor and dreamer against the heart of the patriot and lawgiver figuratively, up to the period of its literal fulfilment in Booth and President Lincoln.

The settlement of the terms of peace between Great Britain and the American republic was followed by a considerable migration from the territory which had ceased to be British to that where the "United Empire loyalists" expected to find kindred and sympathetic attachment to the monarchical principle and constitution. The story of their flight is like a refrain of the previous dispersion from Grand Pré, as the settlers uprooted themselves from the soil of the New England States and moved into Canada. The gain to British America of a large industrial population, accustomed and inured to the agricultural operations of a new country, was great; but they arrived with no other possession; no worldly gear more than that in which they stood, "surprisingly contrasted," said the historian * of one party, "by the elegant dresses of the ladies and gentlemen we happened to meet."

The flight of these loyalists was contemporaneous with the settlement of Upper Canada, a section of the country which has proved an effectual check on the pretensions of the Catholic hierarchy in the French province of Lower Canada or Quebec. Up to that time the province of Upper Canada was an undeveloped wilderness. Save the trapper and the Indian, the Mississaga, the Algonquin, and the Wyandots, no human footstep broke the solemn and dreary silence of its pine forests; and no craft, except the occasional birch-bark canoe, skimmed the broad waters of the St. Lawrence. The allocation of officers, soldiers, and United Empire loyalists, persons lately engaged in the war, or sufferers from their adhesion to the royal cause, on the fertile lands of Lake Ontario and the Niagara peninsula, formed the

* Parson Bailey. See Campbell's History of Nova Scotia.

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nucleus of the new province, and laid the basis of the Canadian nation, of which the former New France had been but the faintest shadow. The picture of that early settlement and the first inception of self-government is at once quaint and impressive. On the southern shore of Lake Ontario, at the mouth of the Niagara river, in the present grass-grown town of Niagara, was gathered the first legislative assembly. It was a small and humble parliament, but was richer in good sense than some others where pageantry and ceremony occupy a larger space. The building was a log hut, and the legislators who gathered around the refined and courtly governor, General Simcoe, were homely in manner and homespun was their attire. And their expedition in the transaction of public business was equal to their simplicity. Under the temporary shelter of that primitive shingle roof, in the first session of the first parliament of Upper Canada, they adopted the constitution of Great Britain, enacted trial by jury, and imposed total abstinence from alcoholic drinks upon the Indians. This last statute, it is fair to say, was in continuity of the policy of the Jesuit De Laval, the first bishop of Quebec; and is one which, most wisely, obtains to this present time.

Even in that early day Governor Simcoe discerned the superiority of the northern shore of Lake Ontario to the southern as the seat of government; and following his quest across the inland sea he lighted upon a swamp, amid the weeds of which the canoe of the Indian darted in and out, in pursuit of the wild fowl which abounded there, and on the shores of which (now occupied by railway stations, corn elevators, warehouses, and the rest) were pitched the wigwams of the Mississaga town. It was in virtue of the governor's decision that a report of the Indian Department of the Canadian Government bore "the curious record of the 'Toronto purchase,' comprising 250,880 acres, including the site of the city, and stretching eastward to the Scarborough heights; for all of which its Mississaga lords received and accepted the sum of *ten shillings*."*

* Professor Wilson.

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In the little town of Niagara, the trade of which has been since diverted by the construction of the Welland Canal to the rival town of St. Catherines, were laid the first seeds of democratic government in Canada. The new capital has the less happy reputation of being the seedplot of faction, by the immigration into it of a potential aristocracy,—men, many of them trained to military service, too proud to work in the clearing and development of the resources of the land, but not possessing sufficient self-respect to rise above the shame of public pauperism. Bound by a common interest, and exercising the influence which superior education necessarily wields, they grew into a political organization. The Legislative Council of Upper Canada degenerated from the status of a committee devoted to the public good, and speedily assumed the aspect of a faction struggling for the emoluments of the Civil Service on the one side, and on the other a free and independent opposition, committed to the protection of the public interest and to the expression of public opinion. The first was the parent of that party in Canada, which afterwards assumed the title of "Union and Progress." The other developed into the "Clear Grit" party, a term used in derision, but not without significance. The moment of the irruption of the "gentlemen" politicians was one in which the primitive little community was progressing towards nationality under favouring circumstances. There were no poor rates, tithes, capitation tax, nor ecclesiastical rates; the highways were maintained by labour instead of by rates or turnpikes; and the land tax was so light as not to be burdensome. But the advent of the office seeker changed all that. In place of a development of a healthy national life and a vigorous patriotic opinion, there was created a class, the incubus of all democracy, the interest of which lay in Government expenditure instead of in administrative economy and in the cultivation of the various and valuable resources of the territory.

In 1812 the "democrats" of America forced on the war,

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and the men of Boston hung the flags "half-mast" on the shipping in the harbour, at this disastrous reactionary policy; which, if it was reasonable, was a direct support to the aim of Napoleon in the decrees of Milan and Berlin, which was to tyrannize over the sea as he did so successfully over the land. There was another immigration of industrious settlers into Canada from the contiguous States; the Iroquois Confederation was broken up, and their allegiance to the French alienated; Mohawks, Onondagas, and Tuscaroras attached themselves to the British; and the Indians of the north-west, under the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, a household name in Upper Canada, rendered splendid service, under the command of their general and idol, Isaac Brock, at the Detroit river, and at the battle of Queenston Heights. The ascendency of the "democrat" in the States Congress ensured a valuable acquisition of population to Canada.

At peace the country again progressed towards nationality, and the union policy of the imperial Government, which received favour under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, the object of which was to associate the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in a common nationality, grew in popularity with the liberal-minded people of the west, but received scant encouragement from the French of the Lower Province. These latter dreamt of *La Nation Canadienne*, an aspiration worthy of an old Norman race; but unfortunately their ideal was an impracticable one. To their prevision the nation was to be French, not Canadian; sectarian, not catholic; tribal, not cosmopolitan. Hence their patriotism became isolated and exclusive, and, politically and economically, an absurdity. In a vast and unsubdued region, occupied by many races, and by the representatives of all the denominations of Christendom, the dream was a mere disordered fancy; but the anomaly remained that in Lower Canada, citizenship, or at least admission to the Legislature, necessitated familiarity with the French tongue, and assimilation to the Gallic habit of mind of a hundred years ago.

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An Englishman, a Scotchman, or an Irishman, subject to the British Crown, and resident upon British soil, must become essentially French ere he could aspire to place, office, or distinction. The Americans were wiser than the British. In Louisiana, Roman law and the French language were gradually but early superseded by Anglo-Saxon codes and the English vernacular.

The more western mind had, as early as 1829, laid hold of the democratic principle of responsible government as opposed to administration by royal prerogative; and a petition was addressed to Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, by 3,000 inhabitants of Toronto, making that the burden of their prayer. Possessing casual and territorial revenues, together with a permanent grant of £2,500 a year, the Crown was independent of votes of supply; and it was to remove this bar to popular rights and to establish parliamentary government that the people, under William Lyon Mackenzie, addressed themselves to the Colonial Office. They were not altogether wise in their action; but the so-called "Reform" party made a noble demand, and the advance to which they had even then attained in appreciation of democratic principles is discerned in the fact that all the points for which they contended have been since conceded, and that a summary of them must move an Englishman to envy even now, as he thinks how far behind the Old World is to the New. They were—i., abolition of primogeniture; ii., secularization of the clergy reserves; iii., exclusion of clergymen and judges from the Legislature; iv., the control of revenue and Crown lands by the Legislation; v., the establishment of municipal councils; vi., law reform; and vii., the power to impeach public servants. Such was the ambition of Upper Canada. In the Lower Province, the grievance, as set forth by Louis Joseph Papineau and his followers a few years later, mainly turned on a narrower issue, namely, the elective quality of the Council; but even that was opposed by Lord Stanley, as being at variance with the traditions of the imperial colonial policy, and inconsistent with monarchical

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institutions. A sop was thrown to the "patriots," as they styled themselves, by the appointment of a commission, including Lord Gosford, Sir Charles Grey, and Sir George Gipps; but disaffection spread nevertheless, and public business was at a dead lock. The majority appeared in their seats in Quebec attired in "homespun," as a protest against British manufactures and the tariff; they braved prosecution, for the bar and bench were as tainted as themselves; they cared nothing for a dissolution, for they were certain of re-election; and they were divided only in the choice between annexation to the United States and the creation of an independent Government. But while democracy was thriving in the west, it was rather papal ascendancy that was striving for power in Lower Canada; and the minority, though in control of the Government, were conscious of the fact, and concerted measures with the Upper Canada reformers to check the political aim of the clerical party in Quebec. The latter were in a dilemma. Committed to a choice of republic or monarchy, they chose the crown; but the effort they had made for political supremacy had thoroughly alarmed the minority, and a legislative union of the Provinces was the ultimate result. The clerics had thrown the weight of their influence into the scale of monarchy; but, as an enduring system, monarchy had died out in America ere the dawn of the eighteenth century, and no forecast could be based then on the traditions of a feudal system savouring of romance. Such traditions as do prevail are those of a Puritanism from which the crudeness and austerity have vanished and left poetic quaintness. The Puritans, whether they had recognised it or not, had done with the crown and the mitre; and they entered on the New World to build up a nation untrammelled by hereditary government and unimpeded by dynastic influences. At the first moment of the agitation, the tavern-keepers of Lower Canada wiped out the crown on their sign-boards and painted in the eagle; but it was the eagle of old France, and not new America. There was, on the part of Pap-

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ineau, doubtless a longing yearning and striving for the good he did not comprehend,

"Groping blindly in the darkness,"

dimly grasping the idea that the old order was yielding to the new; but, writhing under the unhappy present, he, impassioned, romantic and impulsive, sought for freedom in dead traditions rather than in living principles.

The rebellion itself was a petty affair. In November, 1837, there was a riot at Montreal, and a conflict took place between the "Constitutionalists" and the rebels, or "Sons of Liberty," led by an American citizen, one Storrow Brown. In other localities also there were collisions between the troops and insurgents; but Sir John Colborne, the general in military command of the provinces, acted with considerable energy; and by force of arms and superior tactics quickly crushed the germs of an active and wide-spread rebellion. The ensuing Government of Lord Durham was virtually an autocracy, for the constitution was suspended in Lower Canada; but to his discernment and his sense of the practicable in politics was due much of the after progress of popular government in that country. In his own words, he sought "to lay the foundations of the wealth, greatness, and prosperity, of which such inexhaustible elements were to be found in those fertile countries;" and to a greater extent than he knew, he succeeded.

In Upper Canada the rebellion was of smaller proportions even than in Lower Canada, and might have been averted altogether but for the incapacity of the Governor, Sir Francis B. Head. In the midst of a robust agitation for an alteration in the political system, he wrote that "the people detest democracy, revere their constitutional charter, and are consequently staunch in their allegiance to their king." And he believed it. While he was sending troops out of the province to Sir John Colborne, Mr. Mackenzie was preparing for a struggle for independence by organizing an insurrectionary army along Young Street, a road which runs north from Toronto as far as Lake Simcoe. The depôt was at Mont-

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gomery's tavern, four miles from the city, whence a descent on the city was planned; but want of concert on the part of the rebels and the rapid enrolment of militia saved the Governor from his own lack of perception; and the excitement cooled on the flight of the rebel leaders across the border. In 1839 Mr. Poulett Thompson was appointed Governor-General, and in the following year became an Anglo-Canadian peer as Baron Sydenham of Kent and Toronto. That date marks the end of the rebellion and the beginning of a new era. It also marks the end of the second period in Canadian history. The first was that of the French *régime*, which closed in 1759 with the capture of Quebec; the second was the military period of British rule; and the third was that which was characterized by responsible government, and which followed upon the union of the provinces.

Responsible government in Canada is associated with the name of Lord Elgin, and it is to that statesman's honour that he identified himself with the popular movement, and threw himself into the current of popular opinion, in direct opposition to the traditional policy of the home Government, and to the well-known intentions of the Colonial Office; and it is not a little to the credit of the Secretary for the Colonies that he declined to accept the Governor-General's resignation when it was tendered, and that he submitted both tradition and inclination to the better informed judgment and the clearer perception of the Viceroy. Lord Stanley had appointed Sir Charles Metcalfe to the Governorship for the express purpose of uprooting the germs of democracy which were shooting above the soil; but neither Lord Stanley nor Sir Charles Metcalfe could resist natural forces, or even postpone the assertion of the power which lies in the people. The "Reform" executive resigned rather than endorse the Governor's policy; and a rival administration under Sir Allan McNab came into office, but only to record the last death-struggle of personal power. Associated with Lord Elgin were two distinguished Canadians, Mr. Baldwin of the Upper Province, and Mr. Lafontaine of Lower Canada, who, having conjointly

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formed a Cabinet, introduced a measure for the compensation of citizens who had incurred loss in the rebellion. Lord Elgin sanctioned the bill at considerable personal risk, for the popular excitement was intense, and at the peril of causing displeasure at home. The people's rights were on one side; on the other it was pretended that the Rebellion Losses Bill was intended to set a premium upon sedition. The more ignorant, as usual in times of political excitement and factional commotion, resorted to the weapons of rowdyism and physical force. Rioters in Montreal rendered the city dangerous to humble citizens as well as to the Governor and the executive; the Parliament House, with a valuable library, was burnt to the ground; and personal violence threatened every one identified with the measure. "Throughout this trying time," we are told, "Lord Elgin remained perfectly calm and cool; never for a moment losing his self possession, nor failing to exercise the clear foresight and sound judgment for which he was remarkable." Montreal paid the penalty of its ruffianism in the removal of the seat of government to its rival Toronto; and the commercial capital never again enjoyed the social, business, and political advantages incidental thereto, which are now finally centred in Ottawa. Lord Elgin could rejoice, on resigning his Canadian Viceroyalty, in having heard the death-rattle of personal administration, and in having witnessed the birth of a brighter and happier child, namely responsible government. After the first throes of labour, the newly constituted Province of Canada entered upon a period of internal prosperity. Railways were built, the resources of the country were developed more extensively than ever previously, reciprocity treaties were effected with the neighbouring States, the clergy reserves were settled on the broad principle of national right over sectarian privilege, and the postal arrangements of the country were improved.

Sir Allan McNab, we have seen, was identified with the last struggle for personal government, and it would seem as if he was unable to throw himself into the current of a

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more popular form of administration, even though at the head of his party; and this incapacity or disinclination on the part of Sir Allan afforded an opportunity to Mr. Attorney-General John A. Macdonald, of which he was not slow to avail himself. Mr. Taché became the nominal premier, with Mr. Macdonald as the actual prime mover of the Government; and it is noteworthy of the democratic tendency of colonies that while a so-called Tory party was in power, the Legislative Council, or Upper House, was reconstituted and made elective. This was one of the measures for which Mr. Roebuck and his clients had contended in 1837, but, while theoretically sound, the system worked badly; and in the British North America Act, the nomination to the Senate, as it then became designated, reverted to the ministers of the Crown, under certain provision for existing membership. Under the new conditions of the Union, and with men, of either party fairly in sympathy with the new order to which the old militaryism had yielded, the country was in a condition of progress and prosperity. The period, however, that Sir Edmund Head and Lord Monck were at the head of affairs, was one in which the political arena, instead of being the debating ground of wise men was a scene of exciting and vulgar faction fights. Ministries were formed and dismissed on insignificant divisions. The site of the proposed new capital was an instance. About a hundred and eighty thousand pounds had been voted for new Parliament buildings, which the two rival cities of Toronto and Quebec desired should be erected within their borders; but upon the question being referred to the Queen, she decided upon the beautiful spot now known as the City of Ottawa. There was no room for jealousy on the part of either province, for while the parliament houses stand on the crown of a cliff within the territory of Upper Canada, the river which splashes the foot of the cliff, laves on the other shore the soil of Lower Canada; but the decision was, nevertheless, made the occasion for a faction fight. The "Reformers" were in opposition, and, pressing the question of the capital to a

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division, they secured a majority, whereupon the Government resigned. Mr. George Brown assumed office, and remained in power *two days.* Individual selfishness was imperilling responsible government and all that had been striven for and attained in the past in the cause of democracy; and only the commercial and material advantage which had accrued on the new order saved Canada from reaction. "Joint authority" between the representatives of the two provinces and "representation by population" were mere party cries; but finally a coalition was effected, the executive was lifted above the poisonous atmosphere of faction, and the work of Confederation, under the sanction of Lord Carnarvon, was brought within the limits of "practical politics." In 1864 the prevailing isolation of the several Governments in British North America generally was complete; and while the situation required some grand stroke of relief, the people were not only anxious for a change, but were even eager for a revolution which should remove the depression under which they suffered. The legislative system of the united provinces rested upon equal representation apart from inequalities of population. New Brunswick was envious of Nova Scotia, her neighbour with the ocean shore, the North West territories, rich in resources, and almost limitless in extent, were restricted by the exclusive policy of a fur trading company. British Columbia looked askance at Vancouver's Island, and Prince Edward's Island dozed in the security which her geographical situation ensured to her. These distinct and antagonistic factors, protective and in some cases prohibitive tariffs, local interests selfishly asserted, narrow prejudices—these all necessitated and pointed to radical change; and the coalition of parties in the Province of Canada indicated a common opinion, not only there, but also in the other and less important provinces, and ensured the success of any scheme which should be commonly accepted. A constitution was determined upon at a Conference of representatives from all the provinces, held at Quebec in the autumn of 1864, respecting which Lord Monck wrote to Mr. Cardwell,

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"I venture to state my opinion that the design for a consolidation of British North America has taken strong hold of the minds of the most earnest and thoughtful men in these provinces, and I trust that whether on the plan suggested by this resolution, or on some modification of it, a union may be effected which will satisfy the aspirations of so loyal and influential a portion of Her Majesty's subjects." The sequel is a twice-told tale. The confederation of the Dominion of Canada, a political experiment which has proved as beneficial as it was novel, became an accomplished fact on the 1st of July, 1867. Circumstances favoured the new creation; and it was then that the "balance of prosperity," as Mr. Goldwin Smith has said, was decidedly in "Canada's favour, when her financial condition appeared immensely superior to that of her neighbour and when the spirit of her people had been stirred." The Canadas became again distinct provinces legislatively. Nova Scotia, whose interest lay, it was thought, in the open fish-market of New York, and whose opposition to confederation and disposition to annexation to the United States were therefore stronger than those of any other section of Eastern British America, those provinces by the sea, increased in political importance and mercantile well-being. Fort Garry, a Hudson Bay Company's trading post, became a seat of government; and British Columbia, wedded to Vancouver's Island in 1866, effected a union with the Dominion a few years later and shared the general prosperity. The blue sky of Canada was never clearer, the sunshine of British America never brighter. The first "Dominion Day" marked the close of the third period in Canadian history, and the opening of the fourth. The fifth must be a forecast; and the premises upon which that forecast is based will indicate its value as an accurate prediction of what shall be hereafter.

This fourth period of Canadian history, will be not only moulded by the determination of the people, but it will also be effected by a natural force of a westward tendency. The isolation of the State of California, we have been

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told,* its exposure to attack from an enemy, and its five thousand miles of distance from the eastern capital,—these considerations led to the inception of the Pacific Railroad of the United States. Previously to the fulfilment of that project the whole bent of the intrigue of the "democrats" was towards the rending of the Union into three distinct parts. The sympathy of the young and vigorous States was towards the free and progressive disposition of the northern and New England States; and when the war came, their painful separation from those sections of the Union gave a new impetus to the railroad scheme. It was recognised that the loose and daily relaxing bonds of the federation could be tightened and strengthened only by an iron band which should draw San Francisco to New York, and which should bring the Atlantic seaboard within reach of the Pacific slope. And so in 1862 Congress determined upon the railroad; and in 1869 the "mountain wedding" was celebrated in the desert, between rails laid from the west by Chinese coolies, and from the east by Yankee navvies. From that day, Promontory Point, the bold headland under which the ceremony was effected, has been the keystone of the American republic; and will be, in all human probability, a rock of offence and a stone of stumbling to secession and to reaction for all time to come.

The first decade of the Dominion of Canada has been the era of the Canadian Pacific Railway in a notorious sense; the second will be the period of its partial if not complete execution. And that iron way, as in the case of the more southern continental road, will have the effect of binding together the sympathies of the Pacific and Atlantic provinces, and will distribute and equalize the electricity of provincialism, transforming it into a national force and power. It will also have a tendency to attract the seat of national influence further westward from Quebec, the province of the French *régime*, and from Ontario, the province of British military government, and raise Fort Garry, which must become

* "The Sunset Land."

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another Chicago, as a grain depôt for half the world, into the position of a keystone to ensure the union and stability of the nation of Canada.

The onward and westward tendency of civilization and the development of material resources is as remarkable in Canada as in some States of the Union; and present appearances indicate that the flow is towards the vast territories of the north-west and to the fertile valley of the Saskatchewan. The Canadian born backwoodsmen have long evinced a disposition to fulfil their useful destiny by retreating into unsettled solitudes before the march of civilization. By the acquisition of Crown lands, which they have cleared and rendered desirable farm properties, and the disposal of them to less hardy agriculturists, they have acquired ever-increasing fortunes in freehold land and farm stock, for themselves and for their children, reared to the same hardy and industrious life. The process is a familiar one in Ontario; but now that the Crown lands available there are sterile and valueless, these men are turning their eyes away from the woods and forests of Upper Canada to the rolling prairies of Manitoba; and already an exodus is being effected from Ontario which will tend to modify opportunely the papal and half-caste influence which has prevailed at Red River, and to prevent the growth of the reaction which has been initiated there, and which was imported thither from Quebec. The joint result of this migration and the construction of the continental railroad will be to lift Fort Garry into such importance that the centre of government will gravitate there as naturally as the magnetic pole occasionally moves towards Hudson Bay. Speaking at Winnepeg some time ago Lord Dufferin said, "Manitoba may be regarded as the keystone of that mighty arch of sister provinces which spans the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was here that Canada, emerging from her woods and forests, first gazed upon her rolling prairies and unexplored north-west, and learnt as by an unexpected revelation that her historical territories of the Canadas, her eastern seaboards of New Brunswick, Labrador, and Nova

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Scotia, her Laurentian lakes and valleys, corn lands and pastures, though themselves more extensive than half a dozen European kingdoms, were but the vestibules and antechambers to that till then undreamt-of Dominion, the illimitable dimensions of which alike confound the arithmetic of the surveyor and the verification of the explorer." To this splendid region will drift the political power. The result will be revolutionary; but the consequences which will most certainly ensue will be of a commercial and sentimental character. At the first blush it would seem that the commercial development of the Red River district would result in annexation to the United States; but the causes which have militated against annexation in the past will do so in the future. Early in this century, when the capital of Upper Canada was on the frontier, and the trade of that province was through the State of New York, was the moment when annexation by the force of mercantile relations seemed most natural. There was then no Grand Trunk Railway or Great Western of Canada; no canals lined the St. Lawrence to circumvent the rapids; and no steamboats ploughed the fairy waters of the Thousand Islands, nor shot the rapids of Lachine. The highway from the Atlantic was by way of Albany and the Hudson; for while exports might go down the river for shipment at Montreal or Quebec, the numerous portages were an effectual check against imports being conveyed by the same route. But though the intimacy was so close, the absorption of the humble province into the republic would have been so nearly akin to extinction, that tenacity of life ensured the loyalty of Canada to the British flag. While its income, even in early days, was conducive to local development, it would have been as a mere drop in the sea if brought within the control of the Treasury department of its mighty neighbour. The same argument is likely to hold good in Manitoba. The dignity and the self-interest of the new province will induce her to prefer to remain a part of a youthful nation than to use her influence in the direction of annexation. It is, however, evident that Canada's relations with the United States are annually increasing, while with the

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home country they are on the decline. The present condition of the cotton trade illustrates this. A reciprocity treaty between Canada and America is inevitable; and consequent upon that the former country will be placed upon an equality —*plus* slight additional freight charges—with the New England and northern States. The raw cotton frequently sent to New York for shipment to Europe is being increasingly intercepted and manufactured in the States, at a considerable saving in the cost, and to the serious anxiety of the Lancashire spinner. The mill mechanic in the United States is occupied in the erection of new machinery, while his employment in the north of England is chiefly with repairs of old plant. With an accommodating treaty between America and Canada, and exclusive and protective tariffs against England, the mercantile relations between the first and second must grow more intimate, while with the last they must become more relaxed every year.

The sentimental question turns on the loyalty to the British Crown, which is a conspicuous feature in the colonial character; and the development of the national element in Canada will be, paradoxical as it seems, concurrent with an increase of this attachment to the Sovereign. The anomaly vanishes when it is remembered that the Crown is presented to the Canadian native under two aspects,—the first, the direct and practical, and satisfies in the ratio in which the occupant of Rideau Hall, at Ottawa, for the time being is popular or the reverse; the other is the romantic, which envelops royalty, to the colonial imagination, in a dim but roseate haze, very much like that through which youthful readers regard Queen Elizabeth as drawn for them by Charles Kingsley. The personality of government must associate itself in the Canadian's mind more and more with the visible head—Viceroy or President, however designated; and his influence and authority will be commensurate only with his success in promoting public works and the development of material resources, in fostering international trade, and in cultivating political influence on foreign relations. While, on the other hand, as generation after

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generation becomes more patriotic locally, in the "fatherland" rather than the "mother country" sense, their romantic attachment to the Old World monarchy must necessarily become more and more ethereal; until, as we said just now, in a wiser decade than ours the attachment to the British Sovereign will be that which prevails so extensively in the United States, of which an instance was afforded by American soldiers honouring the Queen's last birthday, on the occasion of a review by Lord Dufferin at Montreal—an affection rather than an allegiance; while there will grow up a respect for great principles of justice and righteousness, which will bind, in closer bonds than any imperial federation scheme, all English-speaking peoples—under whatever form or accident of government,—and make them a power against evil in all the world beside.

Briefly we have here indicated a few of the red letter periods in Canadian history, and marked a steady progressive tendency towards nationality. The settlement of Upper Canada; the strife for supremacy between the English and French races, the one aiming at responsible government, the other ambitious only in a tribal and sectarian direction; the futile attempt to rear a democracy on the basis of tradition; the union of Upper and Lower Canada, which, while it was a move in advance, was but a step into the purgatory of a nation; and finally, the confederation of the Dominion of Canada;—these all have been but as the great upheavings on the bosom of the Niagara river just above the falls, the rush of mighty waters shooting to the fall, unrestful stages in the career of a people whose face has been turned, with scarcely a look behind, towards a high place among the nations of the earth.

So much for this people up to the present. As to the future, two forecasts have been made: either, according to Mr. Froude, the connection between Great Britain and Canada must be drawn closer; or, as Mr. Goldwin Smith has told us, the Dominion will be annexed to the United States. Mr. Froude's panacea for the tendency to separation is a weak one indeed. Although he recognises that the colonist is disposed

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to laugh in his sleeve as he regards the hereditary dignitaries of the Old World, yet Mr. Froude thinks that the bestowal of life peerages on colonists, and the admission of colonial professional men to the English bar and to the practice of medicine, might be so many links to bind the outlying provinces of the empire to the mother country. He must have forgotten that Canada, at least, is out of her teens, and holds the superior social status of the metropolis at its real value and no more. An occasional "season" is quite sufficient for the majority of wealthy colonials, and they return to their own country with a new zest for its enjoyments; admitting in their own minds that to them "society" is an abnormal condition, and that the social circle in which they move in their own town is cultivated and refined, and that in it they discern sincerity and friendship, which are not equally obvious in Eaton Square, Pall Mall, and St. James's.

But there is yet another solution to the problem, and that one is an occasion of regret to some whose prevision is unequal to the grand prospect which is offered in a commercial, literary, and moral federation of "Greater Britain;" and even we merely indicate forces which must eventuate in one only result without further expressing our opinion, sympathy, or desire. That solution is contained in one word—a word dear to the soul of the "Canada First" party, a party which includes much of the culture and integrity of Upper Canada, and that word is—Independence.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT HON. LORD ABERDARE, F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(Delivered on the 14th November, 1878.)

IT is with unaffected diffidence that I find myself occupying a chair once honoured by so illustrious an historian as Grote, and so recently adorned by a man so memorable in the history of this century as the late Earl Russell. Each of these eminent men had special qualifications for the post of President of the Royal Historical Society such as I cannot pretend to possess. Both were historians, and both had taken an active part in the political events of their times. If in Mr. Grote the historian predominated over the politician, he yet largely contributed to shape and propagate the political ideas which have since inspired the measures of the party to which he belonged. If the reputation of Earl Russell as a statesman obscures that which he acquired as the historian of the British Constitution, his life from first to last was devoted to historical studies, his writings and speeches teemed with illustrations drawn from history, and perhaps more than any statesman of his age he kept in view historical precedents in every measure which he framed, and in every State paper which he wrote; while he fixed his gaze on history as his guiding star throughout his long voyage over the dark and troubled waters of political strife. The study of history was the passion of his youth, the serious occupation of his manhood, the unfailing consolation of his old age; and it may interest you to hear that on the occasion of my last visit at Pembroke Lodge, not many months before the death of the

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veteran statesman, I found him, feeble and infirm as he was, reading with lively interest a volume of Grote's History of Greece. I know not that he had much meditated the philosophy of history in its most recent and recondite acceptation, nor whether he had constructed for himself a science of history in which "the whole of the events which have befallen the human race, and the states through which it has passed, are regarded as a series of phenomena, produced by causes, and susceptible of explanation."—(J. S. Mill.) He was probably not very familiar with the lucubrations of Herder or of Kant, so admirably set forth in a paper read before this society by one of its ablest members (Dr. Zerffi); and he had formed his habit of historical study and investigation before it had been discovered by Hegel and his followers that history could be treated as a science which might even be constructed *a priori*. These profound speculations on the gradual progress and regular development of the human race, made their way but slowly into the English minds of the beginning of this century, and have not gained a solid footing even at this hour. But still less did Lord Russell study history for the purpose of loading his memory with a barren catalogue of events, or with the pleasanter object of exciting his imagination with the romantic incidents in which it abounds, and by which its first fascination is usually exercised over youthful students. A strong-headed practical friend of mine, while discussing with me the subject of education, once said that he considered "all history as poetry." Not that he shared the scepticism of some persons as to the accuracy of the records on which historical facts had descended to us, but he thought that history, while full of interest and excitement to the imagination, afforded no adequate discipline to the youthful mind, and supplied no effectual assistance in shaping the course either of private or public life. This was not Lord Russell's view of the uses and functions of historical study. He studied history for the lessons it contained. While perfectly aware that history never absolutely repeats itself, and that, as time rolls on, new conditions arise, com-

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plicating the problems to be solved with many disturbing elements, the true value of which cannot easily be adjusted; while conceding their full force to these considerations, he attached the highest importance to thoughtful meditation on past events. He knew that, after making large allowance for the diverse characters of nations as influenced by climate, geographical position, and political institutions, there was still common to all races a fund of human nature, the workings of which could only be studied in history, and which must be studied and taken into account by every one who aspired to be a statesman. He believed none to be worthy of that designation, so often misapplied to the flitting politicians of the hour, who had not, by the insight acquired by reflection upon the past history of man and his nature, learnt to eliminate the accidental and the transitory from the essential abiding characteristics of the human race.

It was probably due in no small degree to this early and thoughtful study of history that Lord Russell was enabled to adopt principles and frame a scheme of political action which sufficed, without change or wavering, to guide his career through that long and stirring period in the events of which he bore so large a part. Nor is this unbroken consistency by any means an ordinary phenomenon, at least among those who have attained the foremost place in political eminence; on the contrary, the instances are extremely rare in which statesmen have had the merit or good fortune to commence their career on lines which they have been able to follow to the end. Of the six statesmen who have occupied the post of Prime Minister during the last thirty years, Lord Russell alone enjoys this distinction. Three other Liberal leaders entered Parliament as Conservatives, and attained eminence in that party before withdrawing from it; and both the Conservative Ministers who have held the first place during part of that period began their political career as Liberals. The part of fortune is often however great in such matters; it was Lord Russell's fortune to be a scion of a great Whig family,—for, had he been born of a Conservative family, there can be

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little doubt, judging from the cast of his mind and character, that he would have added one more name to the list of those who have preferred adherence to their own sense of right and justice to the reputation of consistency.

Was Lord Russell right or wrong in attaching this importance to the study of history as a preparation for statesmanship?

I have no difficulty in pronouncing him to have been right. The influence of this study, pursued in an earnest spirit, is sensibly felt both in the formation of character and in imparting practical wisdom in dealing with men and their concerns.

It seems to me impossible for men of fine natural gifts and strong affections to study the careers of great men without being smitten with a desire to emulate or at least to imitate them. I think it was of Montrose that it was said that the reading of Plutarch's Lives disturbed his very sleep, such was his burning desire to prove himself not inferior to those worthies of antiquity. But perhaps the effect of historical biography is best described by Plutarch himself in the opening sentences of the life of one of the most stainless of his heroes—Timoleon, the Washington of antiquity:—

"It was for the sake of others that I first commenced writing biographies, but I find myself proceeding and attaching myself to it for my own; the virtues of these great men serving me as a sort of looking-glass, in which I may see how to adjust and adorn my own life. Indeed, it can be compared to nothing but daily living and associating together; we receive, as it were, in our inquiry, and entertain each successive guest, view—

'Their stature and their qualities,'

and select from their actions all that is noblest and worthiest to know.

'Ah! and what greater pleasure could we have,'

or what more effective means to one's moral improvement?"

Then, after referring with disapprobation to an opinion of Democritus on this subject, he continues:—

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"My method, on the contrary, is, by the study of history and by the familiarity acquired in writing, to habituate my memory to receive and retain images of the best and worthiest characters. I thus am enabled to free myself from any ignoble, base, or vicious impressions contracted from the contagion of ill company that I may be unavoidably engaged in, by the remedy of turning my thoughts in a happy and calm temper to view these noble examples."

Nor is it only in the elevation of the character by example that the influence of historical study is sensibly felt. A profound faith in Liberty in developing all the powers of the human race, all the greatness of which it is capable, and in Justice as the virtue without which liberty itself cannot be maintained,—these are perhaps *the* most precious fruits derivable by every generous mind from the study of the past. The earnest student cannot but reflect that, however colossal may be the proportions, however vast the power, of many great states, both in ancient and modern times, they failed, unless based upon public liberty and vivified by its spirit, to produce the ripest and richest fruits of human genius, or to supply any security for the enjoyment of a dignified life. Our first admiration in studying ancient history is not given to the vast empires of Egypt or Assyria, but to the diminutive states of Greece. The proudest monuments of those huge monarchies sink into insignificance when compared with what the petty republics of Greece have left us. We feel that the slenderest shaft of a Greek column, the mutilated limb of a Greek statue, raise their authors to heights immeasurably above the architects of the pyramids of Egypt or the temples of Nineveh. We have the most undoubting conviction that no manuscripts unearthed from the ruins of Assyria or Egypt, however interesting they might be as the records of contemporary thought and manners, could hope to vie in intellectual worth with even the poorest relic of Greek literary genius. And I trust that there is not among us one to whom the life of an Athenian citizen of the age of Pericles, or a Florentine of the time of Gino Capponi, would not be chosen as infinitely more favourable to the dignity and

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happiness of man than that of the richest satrap in the realms of Artaxerxes or the most powerful subject of the Czar of Russia.

But the student of history cannot fail to observe that the love of liberty does not always carry with it an equal respect for justice, the other essential requisite of a well-governed state. The passion of liberty is often stained with selfishness, and with an arrogant disregard for the rights of subject or inferior races. Free nations have too often been slow to respect in others the rights they so highly valued for themselves. This fatal defect was not only a dark blot on the brilliant republics of Athens and Florence, but also carried with it its own punishment by exciting the hatred and hostility of those subjects or allies from whom they might otherwise have looked for aid in the hour of need. This is the danger from which even our own free England is not entirely exempt; and the haughty contempt for the opinions and feelings of weaker nations so often found among ruling races, conscious of their greatness and proud of their freedom, the disposition to impose special rules of right and wrong in their dealings with semi-barbarous people, may yet expose our country to dangers greater than any she has hitherto overcome, and involve her in the fate of those illustrious states in which the love of liberty and the respect for justice did not go hand in hand, or existed in unequal proportions.

In asserting that history may convey lessons of practical wisdom profitable to the statesman, and to all who occupy themselves with the public interests of their country, I would avoid falling into the error of exaggerating the advantages to be derived from its study. If, on the one hand, it enlarges knowledge and strengthens natural sagacity, inspires caution, and replaces in some degree personal experience, it does not, on the other, confer the gift of unerring prophecy, nor serve invariably as a guide in determining the expediency of political measures or the choice of policy in national emergencies. To be a good historian is only one of the many

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qualifications of a statesman. In a critical situation we should prefer to trust the safety of the state to a shrewd politician little versed in history, rather than to the man possessing the widest knowledge of the past, but inexperienced in the management of men and of affairs, and in the passions and prejudices of contemporary nations. The medical writer who has best described the origin of a disease, its symptoms and remedies, is not necessarily the physician to whom we should apply in the hour of danger. We prefer the man of quick observation and decisive action, who, taking into consideration the peculiar constitution of his patient, the complications caused by previous or concurrent diseases, his strength and his weakness, administers the remedies most suited to his actual condition. The man of action has studied and profited by the treatise of the man of thought; he applies the prescribed remedies, not blindly and slavishly, but with discriminating nicety. Thousands of wise apothegms, full of wisdom, may be drawn from the conduct of men and nations in past times. It needs a wise man to apply them.

Great truths are generally best expressed, and with most pithiness and force, by great poets, and I gladly seize the opportunity of placing in contrast, not perhaps the opinions of Shakespeare and Corneille, but opinions put into the mouths of two of their characters. In the second part of "Henry IV.," act iii., s. 1., replying to the king's exclamation,—

> "O heaven! that one might read the book of fate,
> And see the revolution of the times,
> Make mountains level," &c.,

Warwick remarks,—

> "There is a history in all men's lives,
> Figuring the nature of the times deceased;
> The which observed, a man may prophesy,
> With a near aim, of the main chance of things
> As yet not come to life, which in their seeds
> And weak beginnings lie intreasured.
> Such things become the brood and hatch of time," &c.

Corneille, for whose political sagacity we know that the first

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Napoleon had the highest admiration, puts the contrary view of the lessons derivable from history into the mouth of Augustus when, in discussing the expediency of resigning his absolute power, he refers to the opposite examples of Sylla and Julius Cæsar; of the cruel, ruthless Sylla, who, after his voluntary resignation of the dictatorship, lived and died peaceful and respected; of the generous clement Cæsar, who, retaining power, was assassinated.

> "Ces examples recents suffiraient pour m'instruire,
> Si par l'example seul on se devait conduire;
> L'un m'invite à le suivre, l'autre me fait peur;
> Mais l'example souvent est un miroir trompeur;
> Et l'ordre du destin, qui gêne nos pensées,
> N'est pas toujours écrit dans les choses passées;
> Quelquefois l'un se brise où l'autre est sauvé,
> Et par où l'un périt, un autre est conservé."
>
> ("Cinna," act ii. sc. 1.)

Between two such masters of profound thought exercised on political subjects, who shall decide? Most of us, I think, will be inclined to take refuge with me in the truism that, to a certain extent, both are right; that Shakespeare's lines express the general truth, and Corneille's the not infrequent exceptions to it.

The observations I have hitherto made have been suggested by reflections on the character of your late illustrious President, who perhaps more than any statesman of his time, Guizot excepted, had inspired himself with the study of history, and who displayed in his application of the lessons of history to practical politics a judgment and discretion which were unhappily wanting in the eminent French Minister and philosophical historian. I have selected among the many possible subjects for my address one which, while illustrating the influence of the study of history on practical life, enabled me also to discharge a pious duty to the memory of a man whose public services were of inestimable value to his country, and whose social qualities won for him the respect and affection of so many private friends, among whom I feel proud to be included:—

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"Animam . . .
His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere."

Let me conclude with some remarks suggested by the examination of the volumes published by our Society, which, although they do not supply the only evidence of its usefulness and vitality, yet perhaps afford the best illustration of the services it has rendered and continues to render to the progress of historical investigation. These volumes are full of thoughtful essays bearing on the philosophical study of history; they abound with excellent treatises on questions of historical interest, which, often neglected by earlier writers are now recognised as necessary to the thorough comprehension of the past; they give us biographies and extracts from the writings of British worthies, often unjustly appreciated or wholly forgotten. For it must be admitted that Fame is often capricious in the distribution of her favours, and allows many a worthy name to sink into oblivion, and many a worthless one to keep its head above the waves. And above all, they are a repertory of curious and important facts, carefully sifted and assigned to their right places. And let us not judge lightly of the labour of those who collect and arrange facts for future use. The "raw compilers, who see no more in facts than facts" (Gibbon), may possibly be held in just contempt. The careful sifters of events, the exposers of falsehoods even apparently trivial, the unearthers of the forgotten sayings and doings of past generations, are by no means obnoxious to ridicule, nay often deserve our respectful gratitude. It was significant of the eighteenth century, with its overweening confidence in itself and its contemptuous depreciation of past ages, that it should have proposed, by the mouth of one of its most respectable representatives, the philosophic D'Alembert, that at the end of every century all facts should be collected together, a few chosen out of them, and the rest committed to the flames. Gibbon, preluding on history, his own great work still undreamt of, took a different estimate of the importance of facts.

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"It is easily seen (he says, in his Essay on Literature) how difficult a task it is to choose the facts which are to be the bases of reasonings. A historian's negligence or want of taste may deprive us for ever of some peculiar trait in order to stun us with the din of a battle. * * * Let us imitate the botanists; all plants are not useful in medicine, yet they are continually discovering fresh ones; they hope that genius and successful labours will find in them properties at present unknown."

This Society seems to me, therefore, to act wisely in publishing such records of facts recovered by the diligence of their members as may serve the future historian. In matters of history it is hardly possible to have too catholic a taste. We may at one time, after reading the pages of Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus, or Gibbon, be tempted to exclaim with the younger Pliny, "Quanta potestas, quanta dignitas, quanta majestas, quantum denique numen sit historiæ." But we should be wrong, we should deprive ourselves of inestimable pleasures, if we limited our historical readings to these grave, eloquent, and weighty writers. Who that lived thirty years ago can forget the eagerness, the wonder, the delighted sense of novelty, with which the Chronicle of the first English Boswell, Jocelyn of Brakelond, was received? We seemed, as we read his artless gossip, for the first time thoroughly to understand how men thought and felt in the days of Richard Cœur de Lion and John Lackland; the Middle Ages emerged in a new light, and with a new meaning for us; and soon a great writer, still happily among us, seizing on the newly discovered treasure, succeeded by a copious use of its pages, in making Abbot Sampson of Bury St. Edmunds, almost as lifelike and as popular as had the chronicler of Dr. Johnson his great idol. (Carlyle's "Past and Present.")

In fact, no generalisations of minds, however vigorous and penetrating, can succeed in bringing bygone ages before us with the same vivid truth as can contemporary writers, even though they be not historians, like Xenophon, De Thou, or Clarendon, but ignorant monks like Jocelyn, or rough soldiers like Montluc.

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Which of us would not agree with Montaigne, when he says that he would rather have heard the conversations which Brutus held with his friends in his tent the night before a battle, than the speech which he made next morning to his army?

Such speeches have not seldom been recorded, and such conversations almost invariably neglected, to the grievous disappointment of posterity, by historians full of a mistaken sense of the dignity of history. The speeches serve to show the skill and eloquence of the historian; the familiar utterance caught from the living lips of the speaker would have given us a glimpse into the hero's own mind. We could often dispense with the first, we can never have enough of the last. And how many of us, in our secret souls, would not join with Montaigne in his preference for those simple historians who, as he says (Book II., c. x.), "have nothing of their own to mix with their recitals, and who only bring the care and diligence to collect everything which comes under their notice, and to register in good faith everything without choice and without sifting, leaving our judgment free for the knowledge of the truth?"

Such, so wide, so various, so comprehensive, are the results aimed at and largely attained by the Historical Society. May their labours be continued in the same tolerant and catholic spirit; slaves of no system, organs of no party; loving Truth for herself, seeking for her by many a sequestered path, in many a secluded hiding-place, revealing her in the white light of unbiassed honesty, and thus contributing by the knowledge of the past to the improvement of the future, and supplying one of the purest pleasures of which cultivated man is susceptible.

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THE COLUMBAN CLERGY OF NORTH BRITAIN, AND THEIR HARRYING BY THE NORSEMEN.

By HENRY H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.,
Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

In making some researches into the migrations of the Norsemen in early times, I have been much struck with the apparent absence in the ordinary sources of information of anything which could resuscitate for us a picture of the condition of things in North Britain at the beginning of the ninth century, when the isles and coasts of Scotland were so terribly harried by the pirates. Recently the profound researches of Dr. Reeves and Mr. Skene, both of them worthy to rank among the greatest names in our historic literature, have accumulated a great mass of material, from which, and from other sources, it is possible to clothe with interest the somewhat dry bones of the early annalists, and I have thought that a careful survey of this seldom trodden field would be acceptable to the Fellows of the Royal Historical Society, and if they deem it worthy I hope to give in a second paper a similar picture of the Irish religious foundations, whose wealth and insecurity were the chief temptations to the rovers and buccaneers of the ninth century. In this paper I have gathered to a focus the information I have been able to meet with about the condition and surroundings of the Columban clergy, and described the doings of the pirates from the year 793, which I believe was the first occasion when they molested our shores, to the year 806, when "the family" or brotherhood of Iona, the mother monastery of the order, was burnt, and its inmates massacred and scattered.

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Their first attack, as I have said, took place in the year 793 (I shall have more to say presently in criticism of the date of the descent on Dorsetshire, generally put down in 787), and it overwhelmed the romantic church of Lindisfarne, the monastic capital of Northumbria, and the most famous daughter of Iona. Its history may well detain us for a short space. It had been founded by Aidan, who uniting in his person the functions of bishop and missionary, replanted Christianity among the pagan Angles of Northumbria. He was consecrated bishop in the year 635, and he fixed as the site of his see upon a lonely island, imitating in this respect, as in many others, his great predecessor Saint Columba. This site has been picturesquely described by Montalembert. "Amid the waves of the Northern Sea," he says, "opposite the green hills of Northumberland and the sandy beach which extends between the border town of Berwick on the north, and the imposing ruins of the feudal fortress of Bamborough on the south, lies a low island, flat and sombre, girt with basaltic rocks, forming a kind of square block, which terminates to the north-west in a long point of land stretching towards the mouth of the Tweed and Scotland. This island bears the impress of melancholy and barrenness. It can never have produced anything but the sorriest crops and most meagre pasturage. There is not a tree, not an undulation, not one noticeable feature save a small conical hill to the south-west, now crowned by a strong castle of picturesque form, but recent construction. In this poor islet was erected the first Christian church of the whole district, now so populous, rich, and industrious, which extends from Hull to Edinburgh. This was Lindisfarne, the religious capital of the north of England and south of Scotland, the residence of the first sixteen bishops of Northumbria, the sanctuary and monastic citadel of the whole country round—the Iona of the Anglo-Saxons" (Monks of the West, iii., 20). The island, like that of Mont St. Michel in France, was only an island during part of the day, for "twice every twenty-four hours the ebbing tide leaves the sands uncovered, and the

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passage can be made on foot to the neighbouring shore" (*id.*, 21).

Lindisfarne was the old name of the island, compounded of *Lindis*, the name of a little brook which falls into the sea on the opposite coast; and *farne* derived from Celtic *fahren*, a place of retreat. (Raine's, North Durham; 52, note.) Aidan probably chose an island for his settlement from its promise of safety. The only enemies he could contemplate molesting him would be from the mainland of Northumbria, free-booters from the rough Anglian population who were still unconverted. He never could dream of the strangers who eventually swept away his foundation.

There he settled almost under the shadow of Bamborough Castle, the residence of his patron Oswald, the king of Northumbria, who had been recently converted in Scotland. His monastery was doubtless of wood as Raine says, but an humble and temporary fabric. There he and his Irish companions worked and taught, and prepared a band of missionaries from the Anglian youth who should spread the faith far and wide. Aidan died in 652, and was succeeded by one of his Irish companions named Finan. He rebuilt the church of Lindisfarne, "Scotico more," *i.e.*, in the Irish manner, that is, with wooden planks, thatched it with reeds, and removed to it the bones of Aidan which he buried under the high altar. The church was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (*id.*, 55). Finan died in 661, and was succeeded by Colman, and he by Tuda, both Irishmen.

We now arrive at the days of St. Wilfred, and the great reform by which the Roman method of observing Easter, and also its form of the tonsure, were, after some struggle, imposed upon the monks of Lindisfarne. Tuda was succeeded as bishop by Eata, and it was apparently on his accession that the part of Northumbria south of the Tees was separated from the see of Lindisfarne, and constituted that of York (*id.*, 57). Eata was in 685 succeeded by the famous St. Cuthbert, whose miracles were renowned in Anglo-Saxon hagiology.

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He led a life of devoted asceticism, and deeming Lindisfarne and its humble surroundings too worldly and luxurious he had a rude cell built in the adjoining isle of Farne, where he led a life of abnegation, and whence he ruled his diocese. The details of his life form no part of our story, but one circumstance does so very markedly. He wished to be buried on the islet of Farne, close to his little oratory. At the earnest request of the monks he consented to be buried in the church of Lindisfarne itself; but he left a request that in the event of the brethren deserting Lindisfarne they should not leave his bones behind, (*id.*, 62, note). As we shall see in a future paper, this request led to their making many a pilgrimage.

St. Cuthbert died in 688. He was succeeded by Eadbert, who we are told by Bede covered the church of Lindisfarne with lead, apparently not only roofed it, but also encased its walls with the same material (*id.*, 65, note). During his episcopacy the remains of St. Cuthbert were exhumed, so that his bones might be treated as relics, but it was found his body was quite fresh. It was kept above ground, and Eadbert was himself buried in the vacant grave. Eadbert was in 698 succeeded by Eadfrid, the scribe of the beautiful Gospels which go by his name and are preserved in the British Museum (Nero, D, 4). He caused St. Cuthbert's cell on Farne Island, which had fallen into ruin, to be repaired.

Eadfrid was succeeded in 724 by Ethelwold. During his rule of the diocese, Ceolwulf, the king of Northumbria, resigned his crown and became a brother at Lindisfarne. He brought, says Mr. Raine, money and land in abundance to the monastery, and above all introduced wine and ale there instead of the milk and water of Aidan (*id.*, 68). Ethelwold was succeeded as Bishop of Lindisfarne by Kynewulf in 740, and he held the see till the year 780, when he was succeeded by Higbald. He it was who was bishop when the Norsemen arrived.

We will now turn aside for a few moments to consider the civil condition of Northumbria at this period. Nothing could well exceed the anarchy which prevailed in that kingdom

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in the second half of the eighth century. Eadberht, who by his prowess and skill had raised the kingdom to a high state of prosperity, resigned his crown in the year 758, and adopted the tonsure; no doubt, like his predecessor Ceolwulf: this was at Lindisfarne. His son and successor, Osulf, had barely been on the throne a year when he was murdered by his retainers (Simeon of Durham, Hist. Reg. Surtees Soc., 21). One of his thanes named Ethelwald, surnamed Moll, now usurped the throne. The origin of Ethelwald, who thus supplanted the ancient royal lineage of Ida, is unknown. His short reign was a troubled one, and he was at length, in 765, defeated in battle and deposed by Alhred, who belonged to the royal stock of Ida. He was on terms of amity with the Frank Emperor, Karl the Great, and was the patron of Saint Willehad, the famous missionary among the Saxons and Frisians (Lappenberg, Anglo-Saxons, 215).

He reigned till the year 774, when he was driven away from the throne by his people, and sought refuge with the king of the Picts, Cyneth, (Sim. of Dur., *op. cit.*, 24; A. S. Chr., ed. Earle, 53). He was succeeded by Ethelred, son of Ethelwald Moll, who was a very truculent and tyrannical person. We read that in the year 778, three of his supporters, named Aldulf, Kynwulf, and Ecga, were treacherously murdered by Ethelbald and Heardberht. Simeon of Durham seems to imply they did this with Ethelred's consent, while the A. S. Chronicle and Henry of Huntingdon, who enter into greater detail, make them out to be rebels (Sim. Dur., *op. cit.*, 25; Henr. of Hunt., ed. Mon. Hist. Brit., 730). However this was, it is clear that Ethelred the following year was himself driven from the throne and replaced by Alfwald, the son of Osulf, and the grandson of Eadberht, and therefore the legitimate ruler. The condition of things in Northumbria in his days is best set out in the sentence of Lappenberg, containing all we know of his reign. "He is praised," he says, "as a pious and upright king, and adorned with the title of "friend of God," but the turbulence of the nobles of his kingdom prevailed over better efforts. The Ealdorman Beorn, his chief justice, was on account of his

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rigour burnt at Silton by the thanes Oswald and Ethelheard, who had assembled a body of forces, and Elfwald himself, after a tumultuous reign of ten years, perished by means of a conspiracy at the head of which was the Ealdorman Sicga (*op. cit.*, I., 216).

This was in the year 788; he was succeeded by Osred, the son of Alhred, and according to a gloss on Simeon of Durham, his nephew, so that Alhred and Elfwald were probably brothers; (Sim. Dur. *op. cit.*, 29) but meanwhile Ethelred, the son of Moll, who was probably the wire-puller in the recent revolution, returned from exile. Osred was seized and deposed by his people, doubtless creatures of Ethelred, was shaven for a monk at York, and afterwards obliged to seek safety in exile. Let me again quote Lappenberg, who in his narrative follows the chronicles very closely. He says, "Ethelred strove to strengthen himself by violent measures. The Ealdorman Eardulf, who had at first governed a part of Northumbria under him, as we learn from existing coins, but who afterwards opposed him, was seized and brought to Ripon, where, before the gates of the monastery, he was by order of Ethelred put to death. Being left for dead, his body was borne into the church by the friars, singing the Gregorian chant, when in the middle of the night he was found to be yet living, being reserved for still greater vicissitudes.

The sons of Alfwald, Œlf and Œlfwine, were less fortunate; being enticed from their sanctuary in the cathedral of York, they were barbarously murdered at Wonwaldremere (*i.e.*, Windermere).

The discontented now again turned their thoughts to the exile Osred, who had withdrawn to the Isle of Man, whom they bound themselves by oath to restore to his kingdom; yet scarcely had he landed when, in spite of oaths and fealty, he was seized and put to death by order of Ethelred (Lappenberg, 217). This murder took place in the year 792 (Sim. Dur., 30, 31).

Such, then, was the miserable condition of Northumbria, torn by factions, its legitimate sovereigns violently displaced by

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usurpers, who scrupled not to murder or otherwise to remove their rivals, and who dragged the Church into their intrigues by compelling their victims to renounce the world whether they would or no; and meanwhile nature seemed to pour upon the devoted land some of its darker omens. "Dire prodigies," says the Northern Chronicler, terrified the miserable people of the Angles, dragons traversed the air, and fiery bolts flew about, and these were assisted by famine and pestilence (Sim. Dur., 31).

It was just at this conjuncture that the Norsemen made their first attack on the British coasts. It has usually been argued that they were tempted to come by the distracted condition of Northumbria, but this cause would not suffice. Such a condition of things was neither new nor unique in various parts of Britain. We have every reason to believe that when they appeared at the end of the eighth century they came as complete strangers. Such is the reading of the notice of the Chronicle about the descent in Dorsetshire, to which I shall presently refer. Such also the reading of the various Irish chronicles. They are never named before, nor can we mistake the evidence of their art remains which show that in the earlier period they were completely isolated from the western countries. They had not come hither before either as traders or as pirates, nor indeed would it have been possible for the Columban clergy to have founded their lonely oratories in the various islets of the North Sea if that sea had been frequented or known to the northern rovers. We entirely mistake the reading of history in supposing that they were the same adventurous seamen in the seventh and eighth centuries that they became in the ninth and tenth. Not only had they to learn the way hither, but also the trade of buccaneering. It is like supposing that Englishmen, in the times of the Plantagenets, followed the same livelihood as they did in those of Elizabeth, when Drake and his friends singed the whiskers of the Spaniards and imitated the conduct of the natives of the Riff coast. The latter, again, and the Saracens were not always pirates, nor always a bold seafaring race.

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We may take it that in the eighth century, at least until its close, the British Isles were almost as much a *terra ignota* to them as the Nile sources are to ourselves, that its politics were quite unknown then and that the Dogger Bank was not then bestrewn with the white sails or the many-oared "cranes" and "swans" in which the Norsemen loved so much to career in in later days. If we realize this as we ought to do, it increases the interest of the question, What brought them to Northumbria in 793? If we search the history of their coming to the same neighbourhood almost a century later, we shall find that they did not then come by haphazard, but came because they had been invited. We shall find that in their assaults on the Frank Empire, and also on the country of the Celts, they were similarly invited more than once. They were asked to come and help the weaker faction against the stronger, to help the Breton against the Carlovingian king, or to help the Emperor Lothaire against his brothers; and I take it the same explanation must be given here. Northumbria, as I have said, was torn by factions, a usurper was on the throne, and a party in the State brooked his rule most impatiently. They were loyal to their legitimate sovereign, and when he perished we may depend upon it that their revenge was sharpened. Now, he was murdered in 792, the very year before the Norsemen came. He had been an exile in Eufania, or the Isle of Man. Ethelred, his rival, had also been an exile for many years. Probably from the friendship shown him by Karl the Great he may have spent a portion of this time at his court. We may well believe that when he murdered Osred, some of Osred's friends would have to go into exile too, and would not be loth to revenge themselves as Roderic the Goth did in Spain, by bringing in aid from beyond the seas. I have little doubt that this is the explanation of their coming; that they were invited now as they were at a later day by Biorn the Butzecarle, and at a later day still by Tostig, the brother of Harald; and that when they crossed the North Sea they came with guides who knew the way. Whence did they come? Simeon calls them

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pagans from a northern climate, "Pagani ab aquilonali climati" (*op. cit.*, 32). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle styles them merely heathen men, "Hedhenra manna" (*op. cit.*, 59). I have small doubt myself that they were Norwegians. It was the Norwegians who, so far as we know, did all the buccaneering in Scotland and Ireland for many years after this. It was certainly Norwegians who made the descent on Dorsetshire, to which I shall presently refer, and Northumbria was opposite Norway. Denmark again, or rather Jutland, which was opposite East Anglia, judging from what we have already seen in the former papers, was at this time by no means a nest of piracy.

I look upon the invaders as a band of the same brotherhood, who, coming from Hordaland, gave a generic name to the rovers in Ireland, where they were called Irruith, and were in fact pure Norsemen. We have still to explain why they should have pounced on the monasteries. Now not only were these establishments chiefly planted on exposed situations, easily accessible from the sea, while York was an inland town and Bamborough a strongly posted fortress, but they were rich depositories of wealth, and it may well be that there was a special vengeance to be exacted from them. The monks of the ninth century were everywhere closely mixed up with politics, and we may well believe that they took sides in the faction fights in Northumbria. Osred, as I have said, was himself compelled to assume the tonsure. He was not the only prince who was thus shaven, doubtless unwillingly. During the reign of Ethelred in Northumbria, we read of an Alric who was so (Sim. Dur., 33), and also of an Edwin (*id.*, 39). This would not attach these princes or their supporters to the monks. It would seem further that the monks of Lindisfarne took sides against the legitimate royal house, for we find it mentioned that Sicga, who murdered Elfwald, was duly buried at Lindisfarne (*id.*, 31).

However this be, and we can only put out the most probable explanation as a tentative one where all is so dark and gloomy, we find that on the 8th of January, in the year 793, the heathen

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men, heralded as I have said by plague and famine, which were so often afterwards to be their followers, fell upon the monastery at Lindisfarne (A.S. C., Earle's ed., 59), where Higbald at this time presided as bishop. "They came," says Simeon, "like stinging hornets, and hurried hither and thither like ravening wolves, plundering, tearing, and killing not only sheep and oxen, but priests and Levites, and choirs of monks and nuns. They laid all waste with miserable havoc, polluted the holy places with their unhallowed feet, dug up the altars, and robbed all the treasures of the church. Some of the brothers they killed, some carried off in chains, many they cast out naked and loaded with insults, some they drowned in the sea."

The monastery, as I have said, was originally a wooden structure; we have no notice of its having been rebuilt in stone, but there can be small doubt that after Wilfred had set up his stone church at York, and Benedict Biscop had built his monasteries in the same material on the river Wear, that the mother monastery of Northumbria, the seat of its bishop, would not remain behind; and it is very probable that a stone structure was set up here during the rule of Bishop Ethelwold. A relic of this building probably survives, and is described by Mr. Raine as a small carved stone, built up in the staircase of the north-west tower of the church, upon which is delineated in basso-relievo a nondescript animal, with a head like a dog, and ending in a long snaky and twisted tail. This, he says, "is probably a Saxon ornament. It evidently was not originally intended for the place which it now occupies, and yet it has unquestionably held its present situation since the first building of the staircase in which it is preserved, and which is as old as any other part of the church." (History of Durham, 137.)

Simeon of Durham, in speaking of Bishop Ethelwold, tells us he caused a stone cross of curious workmanship to be made, and directed that his own name should be engraved upon it as a memorial of himself. He goes on to say that the top was knocked off by the pagans when they sacked Lindisfarne, but that it was afterwards reunited to the cross and fastened

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with lead, and was removed and accompanied St. Cuthbert's bones in their wanderings. In Simeon's days it was at Durham; according to Hutchinson, the pedestal of this cross was still remaining at Lindisfarne in his day (Raine's Durham, 68).

A most precious relic of the old monastery, however, still survives, and remains a lonely specimen of the art and learning patronized in the scriptorium of the abbey. This is the famous volume in the Cottonian collection known as the Lindisfarne Gospels (Nero, N, 4). It was written by Bishop Eadfrid, while his successor Ethelwold supplied the illuminations, which are still brilliant beyond conception. Bilfred bestowed upon it a cover of silver and gold, bedecked with precious stones, and a while after, Aldred, a priest of the house, added an interlineary gloss in the Northumbrian dialect, with marginal notes. (Raine, *op. cit.*, 67.) We shall hear of it again. Higbald, the bishop, and a number of his followers escaped the general massacre at the abbey, and among the relics they saved was this manuscript. When they returned once more to their church, although its gold and silver had been pillaged, there still remained what they probably deemed its greatest treasure, namely, the body of their patron saint, Cuthbert.

The ruin of Lindisfarne, as Lappenberg says, made a deep impression over all England and beyond its borders, and is mentioned in terms of great grief in the letters of Alcuin, himself a Northumbrian, the friend and adviser of Charlemagne, who was living at his court when the disaster happened. "The man," says Alcuin, "who can think of this calamity without being struck with terror, who does not in consequence begin to amend his ways, and who does not cry to God in behalf of his country, has a heart not of flesh, but of stone." It reminded him of an extraordinary phenomenon of which he had been the eye-witness during his last visit to England. "See," he writes to Ethelred, king of Northumbria, "the church of Saint Cuthbert is sprinkled with the blood of its priests and robbed of all its ornaments; that place, the most venerable of all

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places in Britain, has been given in prey to the Gentiles, and where Christianity first took root among us, after the departure of Saint Paulinus from York, there hath occurred the first of the calamities which awaited us. What else was portended by that rain of blood which we saw in Lent, at a time when the sky was calm and cloudless, fall from the lofty roof of the northern aisle of the church of Saint Peter at York, the capital of the kingdom? Did it not denote that carnage would come upon us, and come from the north?" (Lingard's History of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ii., 222.)

In another letter written to the monks of Lindisfarne who had survived the terrible assault of the Norsemen, he commiserates them on their forlorn condition. "What can we say, save to bewail with you before the altar of Christ, and cry, Spare, O Lord! spare Thy people, lest the pagans should exclaim, 'Where is the God of the Christians?' 'Where is the safety of the churches of Britain, if Saint Cuthbert with such a company of saints will not protect his own?' Either this is the beginning of woes, or a penalty for your sins, for nothing happens by chance."

He went on to counsel the survivors to bear it like men, to fight bravely and defend the camp of God. He reminded them of Judas Maccabæus, who purged the temple from pollution and restored the condition of the people. He bade them hasten to correct their shortcomings, to summon back their defenders who had been scared away. He bade them put away all pride, and adopt the virtues of humility which had characterized their founders, that walking in their footsteps they might secure their prayers. He counselled them not to be prostrated by their misfortune, that God chastened those whom He loved, and that He had been the more severe since He loved them the more. Even Jerusalem, His own city, had perished in the flames. Rome, the crown of saints, apostles, and martyrs, had been devastated by the pagans, but had risen again from its ashes, and almost all Europe had been spoiled by the sword and torch of the Goths and Huns. Yet God had preserved His Church, and it had flourished yet

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more and more. Let them then say, "We will return to the Lord God, for He is great to pardon, and will not forsake those who trust in Him;" and he ends up with a magnificent prayer to the Almighty, in which resignation and humility and hope are mingled. (Biogr. Brit. Liter., by Wright, i., 353, 354; Lingard, *op. cit.*, 222.)

A third letter which Alcuin wrote to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow was full of prophetic warning. "Let the fall of others," he says, "be a warning to you. You also inhabit the sea-coast, you are equally exposed to the fury of the barbarians." (Lingard, *op. cit.*, i., 223.)

The event, as Lingard says, verified his foresight. The Norsemen, after destroying Lindisfarne, seem to have returned home loaded with their booty, or perhaps they initiated a policy which they afterwards carried out most consistently, namely, that of seizing upon some island off the coast, fortifying it, and making it at once a place of retreat and an arsenal. At all events, we do not hear of them for a twelvemonth, and then it is in connection with the foundations of Benedict Biscop at Wearmouth and Jarrow. We must now divert somewhat in order to describe them.

Benedict Biscop was born about the year 629, of a noble Northumbrian stock, and when he was twenty, namely, in the year 654, he accompanied St. Wilfred to Rome. Returning home, he made a second pilgrimage thither in the year 665, and then became a monk at the abbey of Lerins, in Provence. Returning once more to Rome in 668 he accompanied Archbishop Theodore to England, and was duly appointed abbot of the monastery of Saint Peter, afterwards known as Saint Augustine's, at Canterbury. This he resigned after two years, and went for a third time to Rome, whence he returned with many books which he had bought and received as gifts. He now repaired to Northumbria, where he was welcomed by King Ecgfrid, who wished to secure for his kingdom the books and relics which he had brought with him. Ecgfrid gave him some land at the mouth of the Wear, where he in 674 laid the foundations of a

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monastery dedicated to Saint Peter. This foundation forms a notable chapter in the history of English architecture. Benedict, we are told, went to Gaul for masons skilled in building "in the Roman method" which he loved, and when in the space of a twelvemonth his work was nearing completion, he sent to Gaul for glaziers to make lamps, goblets (probably chalices), &c., and to fill the windows of the chancel, the portico, and the clerestory with glass, then a novelty among his countrymen (Wright, *op. cit.*, 187 Lingard A.S. Church, II. 372). It is curious that in 758 we again read of the abbot of Wearmouth sending to ask Lullus, Archbishop of Mayence, to get him a man skilled in making glass vessels, because they had no such person in those parts (Ep. Bon., cxiv. Giles. Lingard, 2,372). Benedict also brought the vessels, utensils, and ornaments required for the services, those which he had got in England being of an inferior kind. He doubtless also procured some of those silken and damask hangings then used on festival occasions. He afterwards made a third pilgrimage to Rome, where he got a papal bull of privileges for his monastery. He returned once more about the year 680, again taking with him a great number of books, relics, and paintings. These latter we have a curious notice of in Bede. We are told that "he placed the picture of the Virgin with the twelve apostles in the middle of the vault, extending from wall to wall. The southern wall he decorated with pictures from the Gospels, while the northern wall was similarly covered with paintings from the Apocalypse."

Besides the books and paintings, we read how Benedict also brought with him John the Archchantor (archichantor) of Saint Peter's and Abbot of Saint Martin's, at Rome, who introduced the Roman choral service, which we are told, he not only taught orally at Wearmouth but for which he left written directions, long preserved there, of which copies were soon spread over the island. (Wright, *op. cit.*, 189.)

King Ecgfred rewarded the zeal of Benedict by a fresh grant of land on the other side of the Wear, at a place

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then called Girwi and afterwards better known as Jarrow. There he built a second and smaller monastery, dependent upon Wearmouth and dedicated to St. Paul. In 685 Biscop again paid a visit to Rome, whence he returned with another stock of books and pictures. Among the latter was a series of illustrations of the life of Christ, which he placed at Wearmouth. And another series in which events of the Old and New Testament were compared as type and antitype. Thus Isaac carrying the wood for his own sacrifice was compared to Christ carrying the cross; while a picture of the brazen serpent was contrasted with another of Christ on the cross (*id.*, 189, and 190; Lappenberg *op. cit.*, 174, note, by Thorpe). He also brought with him two silken palls of incomparable workmanship.

We can readily reconstruct in imagination the buildings which Benedict erected by comparing them with the contemporary Roman edifices. They were no doubt of the Basilican form, that is oblong (in quadrum Bede Hist. 11 ch. 14 templum quadratum Alc *op. cit.*, 11-550, Lingard, *op. cit.* 371,) with an aisle on either side divided by a row of pillars, the aisles having a number of small chapels dedicated to various saints. At the east end was an apsis or apse, on whose domed vault would be sketched the picture of the Virgin and twelve apostles in the fashion so familiar to us in the mosaics of Ravenna, while the other pictures would be placed on the side walls. The seat of the bishop or abbot would be placed against the middle of the east wall, and the seats of the priests or monks on either side, and in front of them within the rails the richly ornamented altar. The western entrance had its porch (porticus); while the whole building was lighted by a cænoculum or clerestory (Wright, *op. cit.*, 1,187). This clerestory was pierced by windows in which glass in place of wooden lattices with linen stretched over them (Lingard, *op. cit.*, 1,265) was used, above all was the wooden roof, either of open timbers or flat and panelled, and covered over with lead; outside the building there was probably, as there was at York, a belfry or domus clocearum.

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It would seem that portions of the work of Benedict Biscop still survive. On this subject I cannot quote a better authority than Mr. Freeman, who writes as follows :— "I have no doubt whatever that large parts of the two churches now standing are the genuine work of Benedict Biscop (Bede, Eccl. Hist., 4, 18, cf. Vit. Ben. 4, 5). Each contains two distinct dates of Primitive Romanesque. At Wearmouth the upper part of the tower is not only Primitive, but clearly earlier than the restoration of Ealdwine. It connects itself, not with the Lincoln towers, but with the earlier type at Bywell and Ovingham. But it is raised on a porch evidently older than itself, and showing signs of the very earliest date. Here we plainly have a piece of the work of the seventh century. It follows that the church of Wearmouth was enlarged or repaired at some time between 680 and 1075. At Jarrow the appearances are different. Here also there are two dates of work which we must call Primitive Romanesque; but while the earlier, as I see no reason to doubt, belongs to the age of Benedict, the latter belongs to the age of Ealdwine. In the choir, with its windows so utterly unlike anything of William's age, I have no doubt that we see the building which Benedict raised, and in which Bæda worshipped. But in the manifestly inserted tower, and in the doorway forming part of the domestic buildings which stands close to the church, we see the Primitive style modified by the knowledge of Norman models exactly as at Lincoln. No spot in Britain is more venerable than this, the cradle of English history; and it adds to its interest when we see work of the earliest days of English Christianity and of English art brought into close connection with the work of Englishmen, who under the Norman rule were in every way carrying on the work of the English saints of four hundred years earlier." We may well believe what a vast impression such buildings as those of Benedict must have made on the English folk, hitherto accustomed to the timber buildings of the Irish monks, or the rude unhewn stone structures of the debased Gallic type, and what a nursery

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of artistic culture they were, while the attached library of books was no less valuable and fruitful. We have no record of what these books consisted in, but they doubtless comprised *inter alia* copies of the classics, and, as Mr. Wright says, the works of Bede are the best proof of the extent and variety of information to which he had access in the monastery of Wearmouth (*id.*, 1,192). Bede, the most illustrious writer of the Anglo-Saxon period, was a native of Wearmouth and a pupil of Benedict, and spent a good deal of his life at Jarrow.

The establishments of Wearmouth and Jarrow, says Mr. Longstaff, were properly one monastery founded at two places; they acted in concert and often under one head. In Bede and Simeon they are called "the Monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul, which is at Weramuth and in Giruer." At Wearmouth, Bede, who was born on the monastic lands, entered on his sacred vocation; at Jarrow he wrote his great work and died. Jarrow church was dedicated, as we learn from a Saxon inscription in the church, in the 4th year of Ceolfred's abbacy. This inscription was known to Leland, and being on a through stone, seems undoubtedly genuine (Proceedings Arch. Inst., Newcastle meeting, 86). Again, he says the monastic buildings must have been extensive, for when Ceolfred departed from Wearmouth and Jarrow, for he was abbot of both in 716, he left in them about 600 members. The major part were engaged in tilling the monastic lands. Sometimes the abbot of Wearmouth joined his brethren in the work. The apartments were of course numerous and some of them very large. At Wearmouth the dormitory must have been to the south of the main church, for the oratory of St. Lawrence was in front of it, and that was on Ceolfred's way from his church to the river Wear; there were the public dormitory and the abbot's separate apartment (*id.*, 88, 89).

But we must proceed with our narrative. Simeon of Durham informs us that in the year 794 the aforesaid pagans, that is the pagans who the year before had devastated Lindisfarne, ravaged the harbour of King Ecgfrid (Hist. Reg., ed. cit. 32). In his history of the church of Durham Simeon explains this

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by the words "hoc est Gyruum," that is Jarrow, situated at the confluence of the rivulet Don and the Tyne; as Leland remarks, the Tyne and the Don fall into an estuary which formerly extended inland as far as Hilton, and was navigable for small ships so far. There they plundered the monastery of Jarrow, but, we are told, Saint Cuthbert did not let them depart unavenged, for their chief was killed by a cruel death by the Anglians, and after a short time a furious tempest shattered and destroyed their ships. Some of the invaders were cast ashore and were put to death without pity, while very many were drowned by the sea, and these things, says the well-contented scribe, befell them justly, for they had cruelly ill-treated those who had not ill-treated them (*id.*, 33). There is nothing here said about the monastery at Wearmouth, and we have no authority for concluding, as most previous writers have done, that it was devastated at this time. The Norsemen apparently coasting southward were prepared to spare neither monastery, but in regard to the more southern one on the river Wear, it would seem that their fleet was dispersed before they reached so far, and that they only succeeded in plundering Jarrow. It is clear that they suffered a disaster at the hands of the north-east wind, which is such a terrible enemy on these coasts, rather than from the English, who only completed the work by massacring the shipwrecked crews.

It is very probable that the loss sustained by the Norsemen was only a partial one, and that the main body returned homewards or to some rendezvous among the Scotch islands. Let us now turn our inquiries thither, and contemplate the state of things in the various skerries which dotted the Northern Sea. Nearly every one was tenanted by its lonely hermit or its few lonely hermits, spending their days in fishing in company with the screaming sea-fowl, warming themselves by fires of dried kelp, and in fair weather probably passing on visits from one rock to another, occasionally visiting some rendezvous, praying and fasting, and holding lonely converse with the demons and spirits whose voices they

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might well believe mingled with the north-east wind. A strange weird life, far more terrible and lonely and trying than that of the early Egyptian monks. Each one with his bell at his girdle and his little light in his cell, a type of self-contained, world-renounced loneliness, of supreme contempt and indifference for the philosophy of Epicurus, scorning as worthless and delusive everything that the world deems life worth living for. A repetition of Diogenes a hundred-fold, wedded to poverty and want and exposure. It was strange that such as they should have been among the first victims of the Norwegian piracies.

Let us try and trace out their history and mode of life. St. Columba was born on the 7th of December, probably in the year 521 (Reeves, lxviii. and lxix.), and he belonged to the clan which occupied and gave its name to the district of Gartan, a wild parish in Donegal, and to the royal stock both of Ireland and Dalriada. He was baptized under the name of Colum, that is the dove, the syllable cille meaning "of the church"; when sufficiently old he moved to Moville at the head of Strangford Lough and there became the pupil of the famous bishop Saint Finnian, where he was ordained deacon. Then travelling further north into Leinster he placed himself under the instruction of an aged bard called Gemman. He then entered the monastic seminary of Clonard, over which St. Finnian of Clonard presided. He was ordained priest by Etchen, the Bishop of Clonfad (*id.* lxxii.). On leaving Clonard he went to a monastery at Glasnevin, near Dublin, founded by Mobhi Clarainech, and which then consisted of a group of huts or cells and an oratory, situated on either bank of the Finglass or Tolka. With him there were St. Comgall, St. Ciaran, and St. Cainnech, who had been his companion at Clonard. A violent distemper having broken out there about 544, the community was broken up, and Columba returned northwards. In 546, being then 25 years old, he founded the church of Derry, and in 553 that of Durrow, mentioned by Bede, which became his chief foundation in Ireland (*id.*). A sculptured cross

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called St. Columkilles cross still stands in the churchyard there, and near it is St. Columkille's well. Between 546 and 562 he founded several other monasteries in Ireland. Dr. Reeves has given an account of the principal of these Irish churches of which Columba was either the founder or where he was specially reverenced. He enumerates 37 of them (vide *op. cit.* 276—285).

In 561 was fought the battle of Cooldrevny, between the northern and southern branches of the O'Neills. Curnan, son of Hugh of the northern O'Neill clan, having killed a nobleman at the feast of Tara, given by Diarmaid, of the southern O'Neill, and chief king of Ireland, fled for protection to Columba, who was his relative. Notwithstanding this, Diarmaid seized Curnan and put him to death. Columba taking the part of his relative, assembled the northern O'Neill clan and defeated Diarmaid. Columba, it seems, had another grievance against Diarmaid, in that he had decided against him in a dispute which arose about the ownership of a book. It seems Columba transcribed a copy of the Psalms from an original of St. Finnian without the latter's knowledge, and Diarmaid being called in to decide, declared that the copy belonged to St. Finnian, since to every cow belongs its calf. The copy about which the dispute arose still survives, and is known as the Cathach (*id.*, 249). The result of this victory was serious for St. Columba. A Synod was assembled to try him as the author of so much bloodshed, at which he was censured and ordered to do penance. Out of remorse for what he had done, Columba determined upon exiling himself, and entering upon a life of missionary enterprise beyond the seas (*id.*, 247-255). It was in fact, as Dr. Reeves says, the cause of the hegira of the great evangelist of Scotland.

This took place in 563, when with twelve companions he passed over into Scotland, in the first instance probably into Dalriada, then governed by Conal, his kinsman, whose kingdom had been founded fifty-seven years before, and comprised chiefly Cantyre and Knapdale. These countrymen of his

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were Christians, or at least nominally so (*id.* lxxvi.). North of Dalriada lay the great Pictish kingdom, ruled by Brudeus, the son of Miclochon, who with his subjects were heathens. Thither Columba repaired, and settled down in the probably barren and deserted island of Hy or Iona. He made his way to the fortress or capital of the Pictish king, which we are told was on the river Ness, and which Mr. Skene identifies with a number of ditches and ramparts on a ridge called Torvean, about a mile south-west of Inverness, where in 1808 a massive chain weighing 104 ounces and 18 inches long was found (Skene, 2, 106).

The gates being closed against him, we are told by the ingenuous Adamnan and other biographers how the locks burst open at his prayers, and how he speedily discomfited Mælchu, the king's son, and his Druid who attempted to dispute with him with the aid of magic (*id.*, 152 and note). Having won the favour of the Pictish king, and planted Christianity in his territory, he received the formal grant of the island of Iona in perpetuity (*id.*, lxxvi., 434-435). The grant of this site, which was on the borders of Dalriada and the Pictish kingdom, having received the countenance of the kings of both districts, thus gained a marked character of stability.

Hy, Ia, or Ioua, corrupted into Iona, which became the focus of northern Christianity, is only separated from the Ross of Mull by a channel a mile wide. It is about three miles long, and from a mile to a mile and a half broad. Its surface is very uneven, says Dr. Reeves, "and for the most part consists of small green patches, alternating with rocky projections, which in the northern part of the island are more high and craggy, being intersected with deep ravines; but in the southern half, where the general level is higher, are more continuous, and present to the eye an undulating expanse of a grey barren waste." Its highest hill is Dunii, about 330 feet in height (*id.*, 413—415).

On St. Columba's arrival it was probably entirely waste, and occupied only by heather and sea-fowl, and an occasional

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hunter or fowler. His labours made it the most sacred spot in Scotland, the burial-place of its kings, the depository of its richest relics, and the site probably of its noblest architecture, the beacon whose lamp was the first to shine in that dark mysterious land to the north, and which remains still the great loadstone attracting the pilgrims of both sides of the Atlantic to the barren shores of the Western Isles.

We must now devote a short space to a consideration of the mode of life and constitution of the community which Columba founded.

It is difficult at first to realize the condition of the early church in Ireland. We must divest ourselves altogether of our previous notions of parishes ruled by priests and gathered together into sees. There were no parish priests there, and no episcopal provinces. The missionaries who converted Ireland were monks, and the church they founded was wholly monastic. In the words of Bede, all the presbyters, with the deacons, cantors, lectors, and the other ecclesiastical orders, along with the bishop himself, were subject in all things to the monastic rule (Skene's "Celtic Scotland," 242.)

The monastery was the ecclesiastical commonwealth, and the abbot was its ruler. To him the inmates were subject, of whatever degree. The bishop was in no sense a shepherd of the flock. His functions were not those of ruling and supervising others, but were limited to the duties of ordination, confirmation, and of presiding when present at the service of the mass; and thus we find in these Irish monasteries resident bishops subject to the abbots, and these were the only bishops. Occasionally the abbot himself was a bishop, but this was purely accidental. As Mr. Skene says, the episcopate was in the monastic church of Ireland a personal, and not an official dignity; and at a later date we find that the inferior functionaries of the monastery, as the scribe and even the anchorite, appear to have united the functions of a bishop with their proper duties (*id.*, 44). The dignity of the monastery depended not on the number of its inmates, but on the reputation of its founder. The number of monks in

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the Celtic monasteries was, however, very great. The smaller ones, says Mr. Skene, generally contained about 150 monks; while the larger ones, such as Bangor and Clonard, had as many as 3,000 (*id.*, II., 60 and 61). These large monasteries, says the same author, as in their external aspect they appeared to be, were in reality Christian colonies, into which converts, after being tonsured, were brought, under the name of monks (*id.*, 63). They were sanctuaries in those lawless days where the weak and the unprotected could find shelter, and were no doubt the chief means of disseminating not only learning, but civilization and humanity among the rude Celtic tribes.

There was another peculiarity about the monasteries which must detain us for a short time, and this was the law of succession to the abbacy. When one of the early saints founded a monastery, he first received a grant of a portion of land from the head of the tribe or clan inhabiting the district, who was often the head of his own tribe, and he and his people were under a curious kind of dependence upon the tribe itself. As Mr. Skene says, the old Irish law of succession contemplated no individual rights to the headship, but like that of most early communities, the right of a particular family to rule, one of whose members was duly elected. When the original grant of the land was made by the tribe or sept to which the founder belonged, the succession to the abbacy continued in the sept, and each successive abbot elected was elected from the founder's kin; and the choice was so limited. They thus were something like advowsons in private gift in England; where the saint was a stranger the succession was in his family so long as there was a fit person surviving, even if he were only a psalm-singer. In default of such a one the succession passed to the family of the original grantor of the land, and in default of this to the monks themselves. The monastery claimed from the tribe where it settled, tithes, firstfruit, and firstling, including human firstborn, and had the correlative duty to supply "baptism, communion, requiem for the soul, and teaching of the word of God" (Skene, *op. cit.*,

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727). The community was essentially very democratic, and much opposed to the caste prejudices of early society; all were equal within the church, the slave became free, and the rustic and the noble lived there on equal terms. Let us now picture to ourselves the life led by the community. Among the recorded officials of Iona, we read of the abbot, the prior, or *custos monasterii*, who acted as the abbot's representative in his absence; the bishop, the scribe, who superintended the practice and teaching of penmanship, the anchorite or hermit, who lived in some remote cell apart, the butler, the baker, the cook, the smith and brazier, the abbot's private attendant, and the legati or messengers, probably specially charged with the care of the boats, &c. (Reeves *op. cit.*, 364—368).

The community consisted of three classes of monks,—the seniors, who attended to the religious services, read the Scriptures and transcribed them; those who were younger and stronger were called working brothers; they tilled the ground, and looked after the cattle, and doubtless also performed the several domestic duties about the monastery, and manufactured the few articles that were needed by the monks. Among these was the pincerna, or butler, and the pistor, or baker, who was a Saxon. The third class was that of the neophytes, or alumni. The whole community was governed by the abbot. His authority was supreme, while, if he was the founder, he ruled not only his own monastery, but all the affiliated houses as well, whose prepositi or heads were subject to him. In ecclesiastical rank he was a presbyter, and officiated at the altar and pronounced absolution. On extraordinary occasions he would summon the brethren even in the dead of night, and then address them from the altar and solicit their prayers. Occasionally he instituted a festival, published a holiday, and enjoined the celebration of the eucharist. As occasion offered he dispensed with a fast, relaxed penitential discipline or regulated its intensity. He gave licence of departure, which he signified by his benediction. He was saluted by prostration. He forbade, at pleasure, admission to the monastery. When he thought fit he despatched a chosen brother on a

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distant mission, or for monastic purposes. He had the control of the temporalities. When at home he was attended, except when he expressed a wish to be alone; when abroad he was accompanied by a party who were styled *viri sociales;* and he preached or baptized as occasion offered. He was, in fact, the same absolute master of the monks as the general of the Jesuits is; *usque ad mortem* was the limit of their obedience.

The dress of the monks was a white tunic or under garment, over which they wore a cuculla or cloak, with a body and hood made of wool of the natural colour of the material. When working or travelling their feet were shod with sandals, which were generally removed when they sat down to eat. Their food consisted of bread, sometimes made of barley, milk, fish, and eggs, and occasionally, at Iona, of seal's flesh on Sundays and festivals. On the arrival of guests there was an improvement in the diet, and an addition, probably of flesh-meat, mutton or beef, was made to the principal meal. ("Reeve's Adamnanus," 355). The meals were probably timed as in the Benedictine monasteries; dinner at twelve, and supper in the evening every day between Easter and Pentecost, and after Pentecost on every day except Wednesday, when the first meal was taken at nona; from the middle of September till the beginning of Lent the first meal continually after nona, while during Lent only the first meal was delayed till the last light of day (*id.*, 355 and 356). While the working brothers were busy in agricultural and other employments, the more educated ones were engaged in transcribing and illuminating MSS., the reading and study of the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical writings, and the study of Latin and Greek (*id.*, 352). They also, of course, conducted the religious services of the monastery. Among the disciplinary institutions which formed the very essence of the society may be mentioned obedience. The abbot's commands, like those of the modern generals of the great orders, were obeyed implicitly. No personal property was owned by the brothers, but all was held in common. It

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was a society based on absolutely communistic principles. While marriage was almost universal among the secular clergy, chastity was enjoined, but judging from a phrase of Adamnan in describing the clericus of Magh Breg, who he says was *dives et honoratus in plebe*, yet who died "*cum meretrice in eodem lectulo cubans*" (*id.*, 344), the breach of the law was not held to be a very serious offence. There was no rigid rule about silence, but discussion was rather encouraged. We can hardly, in fact, associate the famous rules of La Trappe with a Hibernian community. Humility was largely practised, outwardly at least; superiors were addressed kneeling, and penitents fell on their knees weeping (*id.*, 344). Hospitality was a ruling principle of the order; the brotherhood went out to meet an expected guest, who was generally kissed by the abbot; thanks were offered up for his safety; his feet were washed in the hospitium, and if he arrived on a fast day the fast was specially relaxed for him. Medical relief and alms were distributed to the poor, but itinerant beggars whom we should designate as tramps were discouraged. On ordinary days divine worship followed the ordinary cursus or synaxis performed at the canonical hours. At night the brothers were accommodated with lanterns. On Sundays and saints' days there was rest from labour, celebration of the eucharist, and the use of better food and more important services. Easter Day was the great festival, and it was observed according to the old style until the year 716, when the Roman discipline prevailed (*id.*, 26—28, notes). Every Wednesday and Friday during the year, except between Easter and Whit Sunday, was a fast day, and no meal was taken till nona, except on rare occasions. During Lent, except on Sundays, the fast was prolonged until evening, when a light meal of eggs, bread, and diluted milk was allowed. Baptism was administered to adult converts. Priests' orders were conferred by the bishop only, but the previous imposition of the abbot's right hand was required as the bishop's warrant for his interference (*id.*, 348). The ordinary rule elsewhere as is well known, was that three bishops were needed to conse-

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crate a fourth; but in Ireland, as is complained of both by Lanfranc and Anselm, one only was often deemed enough. Those entering the community had often to serve a probation of seven years, and when the time came for his actual admission the candidate was conducted to the oratory, where, on his knees, he repeated after the abbot the *monachicum votum id.*, 349). Penance, self-mortification, and even exile were awarded by the abbot for the commission of offences. The tonsure in use among the Columban clergy was an ancient national one, *i. e., ab aure ad aurum*, in which the forepart of the head was left bare, but the occiput was untouched. Among the Greeks the whole head was shaved; the Roman practice, as is well known, was that of a coronal tonsure; the institution of the Greek was assigned to St. Paul, of the Latin to St. Peter. The Irish one was assigned by the enemy to Simon Magus (350). The sign of the cross was very common, the pail was crossed before milking, and tools before using them. It was considered effectual, says Dr. Reeves, to banish demons, to restrain a river monster, to prostrate a wild beast, to unlock a door, to endow a pebble with healing qualities. There are said to have been 360 stone crosses around the monastery of Iona. Objects blessed by St. Columba himself, as well as his thrown-off clothing, were deemed to have virtues, and were used as charms. The dead were buried amidst the community, the body was laid out in the cell wrapped in linen clothes, where it remained during the exequiæ, or wake, which lasted for three days and nights, in the course of which the praise of God was sung; the body was then borne to its grave in solemn procession, and buried with due reverence (*id.*, 352).

We have ample materials for reconstructing the old monastery after the Irish fashion, and Mr. Skene has collected some interesting details which I shall use. The primitive Celtic monastery, as he says, was a very simple affair, and resembled a rude village of wooden huts. The whole place was made of wood and wattles, including the church. The latter was called Duirthech, or Dairthech, *i.e.*, a house of oak.

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Within it was the altar, remote from the door, and on it the discus or paten, and the calix or chalice. On extraordinary occasions reliquaries were placed on the altar (Reeves, 358). "Attached to the duirthech was usually a small side building termed Erdam, or in Latin 'exedra,' which was used as a sacristry; here was probably kept the clocca, or bell, for summoning the brothers. There was also a somewhat larger house, which was the refectory, or common eating hall, where were doubtless stored the knives and carvers, the flagons and pots. It was termed the proinntigh, and in connection with it was a coitchenn, or kitchen, and when there was a stream of water fit for the purpose there was a miuliun, or mill, and in connection with it a stone kiln for drying corn. Somewhat apart from the cells of the monks were the abbot's house, or tugurium, built with joists, and the house set apart for the reception of guests, called the tighavid headh, or hospitium" (Skene, *op. cit.*, 2, 59). Besides these, and outside the vallum, there were sheds for cattle and horses, a granary, &c., &c., and probably also workshops for carpenters, &c. "The whole of the buildings were protected by a circumvallation, sometimes of earth, or of earth and stone, or of earth faced with stone, and termed Caiseal, the remains of which still exist in connection with several of these foundations" (*id.*, 59). In the refectory was a fireplace and a vessel of water. The bread was broken on a large stone. In the scriptorium were preserved the tabulæ or waxed tablets, the graphia or styles, the calami or pens, and the cornicula atramenti or inkhorns. The books were suspended in leather satchels from the walls. In the monks' cells were small beds: with the very rigid these were probably the hard stone itself; others used pallets probably of straw and hides to sleep on. The furniture of the cells was very primitive, some rude tables and settles, wooden disci or dishes, and calici or cups, and various utensils, cooking spits, and pans and cauldrons of brass and iron. There were some objects, however, which were so characteristic of the monks, and which marked their presence in Iceland, &c., &c., that must detain

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us a little longer. Among these were the clocca or bells, the famous handbells so well known in Museums, in shape, as Montalembert says, like those worn by the cattle in Spain and in the Jura. These were apparently used by all the early Celtic clergy, and have been found in Ireland, Scotland, and also on this side of the border. One to which I would draw special attention was found on the Welsh Marches, at Marden in Herefordshire. It is figured in the "Archæological Journal," 5, 329, and is now in the Hereford Museum. Many of them have been published. There is one known as St. Columba's bell, which is figured by Wilson in his "Archæology and Pre-historic Annals of Scotland," 654. He tells us "it is about seven inches high, and was preserved for many generations in the family of the M'Gurks, from whose ancestors the parish of Termon Magurk, in the county of Tyrone, takes its name." He says "this bell was held by the native Irish, even of the present generation, in peculiar veneration, and though usually called by them the Clog na Choliumchille, or bell of St. Columbkill, it also bore the name of Dia drogaltur, or God's vengeance, alluding to the curse implicitly believed to fall on any who perjured themselves by swearing falsely on it. . . In the museum of the Royal Irish Academy there are eighteen of these bells." On one of them, figured in the same work (p. 656), is an old Irish inscription invoking blessings for the nation; another of these bells, of which the case is figured on plate 6, was found in Argyleshire. This bell, which is much corroded, is contained in an ornamental case or shrine, attached to the bottom of which is a thin plate of brass pierced with a circular hole in the centre. The bell is entirely detached from its case, and when first found was wrapped in a decayed woollen cloth. The outside of the case is beautifully chased and ornamented, and has a bronze crucifix on it. Another of these bells, known as clog Niny, or the bell of St. Ninian, the proto-evangelist of Scotland, is figured on page 660, and is very rude. This bell was in the collection of Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, who also had the bells of St. Ruadan, St. Columba, St. Patrick, and the celebrated Bearnan brighde, or the gapped

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bell of Saint Brigid, so called from the gap or injury which tradition affirms it to have received when flung by Saint Patrick in the midst of the enormous reptiles which he was banishing from the green isle! (*id.*, 660). These bells were used not merely to summon worshippers to the service, they were part of the episcopal insignia given to a bishop on his ordination. As sacred relics of the saints to whom they belonged, they came to be looked upon as possessing special virtues. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us how these portable bells were held in unusual veneration in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and says men were more afraid of swearing falsely by them than by the Gospels, because of some hidden and miraculous power with which they were gifted, as well as for fear of the saint to whom they belonged (Wilson, *op. cit.*, 656). When men were solemnly cursed for some crime, it was, as is well known, with bell, book, and candle, a practice derived apparently from Ireland (*id.*, 656). There were occasions on which the bells of the irascible Columban clergy may well be believed to have rung with special vigour. The honour attached to the custody of the most sacred relics occasioned in various cases the creation of special offices with emoluments and lands pertaining to their holders, and the transference of these to lay impropriators has led to the preservation of some few of the relics of the primitive saints to our own day. Thus some of these bells became attached to the tenure, and seisin of the lands was given with possession of the bell, of which it formed both the title and the evidence of tenure. How great the virtues of these bells became sometimes in popular esteem may be gathered from the following notice in Sinclair's statistical account (xvii., 377). "There is a bell," he says, "belonging to the chapel of St. Fillan that was in high reputation among the votaries of the saint in former times. . . It usually lay on a gravestone in the churchyard. When mad people were brought to be dipped in the saint's pool it was necessary to perform certain ceremonies, in which there was a mixture of Druidism and Popery. After remaining all night in the chapel bound with

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ropes, the bell was set upon their head with great solemnity. It was the popular opinion that, if stolen, it would extricate itself out of the thief's hands, and return home ringing all the way" (Wilson, *op. cit.* 662).

Besides their bells, the early abbots and saints had their quigrichs, *i. e.*, their crosiers or crooks. The head of that of St. Fillan is still extant, and is a beautiful piece of workmanship, of a very simple and delicate taste, as may be seen by the figure of it given by Mr. Wilson (*op. cit.*, 664). It is of silver gilt, and weighs seven or eight pounds. It is hollow at the lower end for the insertion of the staff. It is not formed into a spiral like later crosiers, but has a single bend at right angles, and is delicately chased: the end furthest from the staff is flat, and has a cross engraved on it with a star on each side of it, while a large oval crystal is set in the front of the short limb (*id.*, 665). The ancient crosier of St. Moluc has also survived to our day, and is in the possession of the Duke of Argyle. It is known in the district, says Mr. Wilson, by the simple name of the Bainliun More, or big staff, and consists of a plain curved staff, formerly decorated with silver at the top, but long since spoiled of its costlier ornaments. Besides their bells and staves, the hermits no doubt also treasured their menstirs or reliquaries, in which some fragment of bone or other relic of their founder or one of his saintly disciples was preserved, and their leathern poolire or satchel, with its contents in the shape of some marvellously illuminated service book. They also had their altar furniture, and specially the sacred vessels, the chalice and the paten. The earlier Celtic chalices seem to have been made of wood,—calices lignei, as they were called. One of them, a very famous one, still survives. It is known as the Dunvegan cup, and is also figured by Professor Wilson. He says its material is wood, to all appearance oak, most curiously wrought and embossed with silver work. A series of projecting bosses appear to have been jewelled, and two or three of them still retain their simple settings. The ledge, the projecting rim, and the four legs which support the cup, shaped like human legs, are of silver,

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and with the other silver mountings seem to have been gilt. Round the exterior is an inscription in mixed Latin and Celtic, which may be thus translated: "Ufo, the son of John, the son of Magnus, Prince of the Isle of Man, the grandson of Liahia Macgrynid, trusts in the Lord Jesus that mercy will be given to him in that day. Oneil Ormi made this in the year of God Nine hundred and ninety-three." It has been an heirloom of the McLeods of Skye from time immemorial. An equally interesting relic, and traditionally said to have been the chalice of St. Columba himself, survived to our day, but was stolen from St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Glasgow, and no doubt consigned to the melting pot. No drawing of it survives. It is described as being of fine gold, of very simple form and rude workmanship, the ornamental engravings on it being of a hard and archaic form, and it bore the marks of the original hammering which had beaten it into shape. Lastly, among the most treasured objects of the monks were doubtless the charms, which consisted of any objects which the saintly founder or other revered brother had blessed. In the life of St. Columba we have a medley of such objects named, as bread, salt, water, a white stone, a cloak, books, a knife, a stake of wood, &c., &c.; but we must resume our narrative.

We have abundant evidence to prove the enterprise and devotion of the cenobites, the pioneers of light and learning, such as it was in the eighth century in the darker corners of Western Europe, whose cells dotted almost every rock and skerry on the coast of Scotland, and far away into the mists of the Arctic Zone as far as Thule itself. In regard to Iceland we are told in the Landnamma-bok, the register of the settling of that island, that before Iceland was inhabited by the Norwegians there were men there whom the Norwegians called Papas, who were Christians, and who had come over the sea from the west, and they left Irish books and bells and crosiers, "of which," says the compiler of that work, "many are still found, indicating," he adds, "that they were Westmanni or Westmen. They were found in Eastern Papeya and in

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Papyli" (*op. cit.*, p. 2). In the Islandabok of Ari Frode we read of Iceland that "Christian men were there called by the Northmen Papa, but afterwards they went their way, for they would not remain in company with heathens; and they left behind them Irish books and bells and pastoral staves, so that it was clear that they were Irishmen." (Orkneyinga saga, by Anderson, xiii.) Similar testimony is given by the Irish monk Dicuil, who wrote his treatise "De mensura orbis Terrarum" about the year 825. He tells us that about thirty years before, *i.e.*, about 795, some clerics had told him that they had lived in an island which they supposed to be Thule, where at the summer solstice the sun only hid himself behind a little hill for a short time during the night, which was quite light; and that a day's sail towards the north would bring them from thence into the frozen sea. This is clearly Iceland, as Mr. Anderson (*op. cit.*,) Dasent (Nials Saga, i., vii.), and others have agreed. These monks have also left their mark on the topography of the island; the group of skerries which lie to the south of it probably derived their name of Vestmannaeyiar, or Westman's Isles, from them; so probably did the inlet of Patrick's fiord in the north-west of the island and Papey on the eastern coast.

We are told in the life of Saint Cormac how, in search of that solitude which the hermits loved so well, he set out in the summer, and the south wind drove him for fourteen days and nights in a straight course from the land into the northern regions (Adamnan's Columba, ii., 43). It was thus, doubtless, the lonely island of St. Kilda, far out in the Atlantic, where are a chapel, a cemetery, and a holy spring dedicated to St. Columba's remains, was discovered (Montalembert, iii., 224).

Dicuil, in the work already cited, describes some other small islands, almost all divided from each other by narrow sounds, which had been inhabited for about a century previously by hermits from "our Scotia," *i.e.*, from Ireland, but he adds, as they had been deserted since the beginning of the world, so they were then abandoned by those anchorites on account of the northern robbers; but they were full of countless sheep,

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and swarmed with sea-fowl of various kinds. He had not, he says, seen them mentioned in the work of any author. These islands Mr. Anderson identifies, with every probability, with the Faroes, whose peculiar physical features are the long narrow sounds; while, as he says, the statement that they were full of countless sheep, taken in connection with the fact that the Northmen named them sheep isles (Faer eyiar), establishes the identity of the group which Dicuil describes (*op. cit.*, xii.).

In the Faroes we still have the Westmanshaven fiord separating the island of Stronio from that of Vaago, and the little islet of Monken to the south of the group, which doubtless preserve in their names traces of the presence of the early missionaries.

Coming further south we reach the Shetland Islands. These are probably referred to by Dicuil, who, after describing Iceland, says there are many other islands in the northern British sea, which lie at the distance of two days and two nights from the northern islands of Britain in a straight course, and with a fair wind and a full sail. "One of these," he says, "a certain honest monk, told me he had visited one summer, after sailing a day, a night, and another day, in a two-benched boat" (Anderson, *op. cit.*, xii.). In the Shetlands we have abundant evidence of early Christian settlement in the topography of the islands. Thus we have the isles of Pappa, Papa Stour, and Papa Little, and Papill in the islands of Unst and Yell. We have, further, such names as St. Ninian's Isle in Shetland, &c., &c.

As we turn our steps southwards the proofs of the activity of the anchorites and early monks increase. The Orkneys are thronged with them. Thus, as Mr. Anderson tells us, we there have the islands of Papa Westray and Papa Stronsay (the Papey meiri and Papey minni, or greater and lesser Papa of the Orkneyinga Saga), Paplay in South Ronaldsay, Paplay in the parish of Holm, and Papdale near Kirkwall, in the Mainland (*id.*, xx., note). Rinansey (*i.e.*, Ringan's ey, St. Ninian's Isle), in the Orkneys, Danninsey, now Danisey (*i.e.*, St. Adamnan's Isle), and Enhallow (Eyin-Helga),

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Holy Isle. There was a dedication to St. Ninian in South Ronaldsay in Orkney, three to St. Columba in the same island, namely at Grymness, Hopay, and Loch of Burwick; others in the islands of Sanday and Hoy. St. Triduana, whose name was corrupted into Saint Tredwell and St. Trudlin (the Trollhana of the Saga), had a dedication in Papa Westray, and apparently another near Thurso, but, as Mr. Anderson says in the account to which I am so greatly indebted, "it is impossible to tell how many of these early religious sites had similar dedications, as scarcely a tithe of those that are known have preserved their names. Brand and Sibbald both mention the fact that in their time there were still recognised the sites of twenty-four chapels in the island of Unst, twenty-one in the island of Yell, and ten or eleven in the island of Fellar, that is fifty-five religious foundations in the three most northern islands of the Shetland group (*id.*, xiv. and xv., notes). This shows how richly endowed with anchorites these islands were. The period of Norse Christianity is sharply separated from this earlier one by dedications, showing the influence of the Crusades, or of the national religious feeling, such as the dedication to the Holy Cross, St. Mary, St. Peter, St. Lawrence, St. Olaf, and St. Magnus (*id.*). We thus find that the enterprise of the Columban monks had searched out almost all the islets of the North Sea. Is it impossible that some of them may even have found their way to the Norwegian coast, and even further? We only know that in some of the ceremonies of the Odin worship there seem to be reminiscences of Christianity which may have had this source. Thus Mr. Blackwell says, "Baptism is expressly mentioned in the Havamal and Rigsmal, and alluded to in other Eddaic poems;" and Bishop Mallet says a kind of infant baptism was practised in the north long before the first dawning of Christianity had reached those parts. Snorro Sturleson, in his chronicle, speaking of a Norwegian nobleman who lived in the reign of Harald Harfagra, relates that he poured water on the head of a new-born child, and called him Hakon, from the name of his father. Harald

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himself had been baptized in the same manner, and it is noted of King Olaf Trygvason that his mother Astrida had him thus baptized and named as soon as he was born. The Livonians observed the same ceremony, which also prevailed among the Germans, as appears from a letter which the famous Pope Gregory the Third sent to their apostle Boniface, directing him expressly how to act in this respect (Mallet's "Northern Antiquities," ed. Bohn, 206).

The Hebrides and the various islets that dot the western shores of Scotland were, like the more northern groups, also dotted with settlements of monks. Columba himself founded monasteries in Tiree, and probably also in the Garveloch islands, in one of which, named Elachnave, is a well known as Saint Columba's well (*id.*, 128). There were foundations in Mull, in the isles of Hurba and Elena, in Skye, Lismore, Bute, Egg, &c., &c. In fact, it would be difficult to find an island or rock in the west of Scotland which had not its settlement of monks. The same was the case on the mainland. There were settlements at Aberdour in Banffshire, and Deer in Buchan (*id.*, 134), founded by St. Columba himself; others were founded at Rosemarky on the Moray Firth, at Mortlach in the Vale of Fiddic, and at Kildonan in Sutherland. These were all in the country of the northern Picts. In the country of the southern Picts, where Christianity had been planted in the previous century by Saint Ninian, a new church was now founded at Abernethy, another near St. Andrews in Fifeshire, others at Dunblane, Loch Leven, Abercorn, Scone, and in many other places. All these various monasteries and all the scattered cells on the skerries of the North Sea, together with a considerable number of settlements in the north of Ireland, acknowledged Iona as their mother, and its abbot as their arch ruler. It is not our concern to trace its history out in detail; one of the most important events in the history of the order was the foundation of the church in Northumbria, which I have already described. About 687 Adamnan, who was ninth Abbot of Iona, and was the biographer of Columba, repaired the monastery, and we are

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told he sent twelve ships to Lonn for oak trees to furnish the necessary timber (Skene, 171). After a visit to England he was induced to conform to the Roman method of the tonsure and of commemorating Easter, but he could not persuade his monks to follow his example.

In 710, Nectan, the king of the southern Picts, appealed to Ceolfred, Abbot of Jarrow, where, as in the other Northumbrian monasteries, the old Columban usages had given place to those of Rome, to furnish him with arguments with which to confute those who practised the Irish method of keeping Easter and of the tonsure; and also asked him to send him architects to build a church in the Roman manner. Ceolfred sent a letter accordingly, and the Pictish king, in an assembly of his notables, probably held at Scone, promulgated his orders for the adoption of the coronal tonsure and the Roman period of keeping Easter (*id.*, 278, 279). Those who would not conform were ordered to emigrate across Drumalban (*id.*, 284). This was in 717, and thus ceased, says Mr. Skene the primacy of the monastery of Iona over the monasteries and churches in the extensive districts in the east and north of Scotland which formed at that time the kingdom of the Picts (*id.*, II, 178).

A long struggle now ensued at Iona itself, between those who were conservative of the old rules and the Roman party. The latter doubtless had reason and culture on its side, and eventually prevailed, but the struggle must have left behind sore feelings in many an isolated community. The change was not great; the rule of Columba survived in other respects, as did the peculiarities of his order; but in the main points upon which schism was threatened the monks were reconciled to the authority of Rome—reconciled, at all events, outwardly, but they were a stubborn race, and it is the privilege of monasticism to be exceedingly conservative. We cannot doubt that among the anchorites who lived in their lonely cells on the scattered rocklets of the North Sea, there were many who preserved the old traditions, and handed down doubtless also a certain bitter feeling for the innovators. We have

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traced out the broader outlines of the Columban society, but there yet remains to realize the kind of life led by the lonelier and more isolated members of the community. Those strange, weird figures who said their orisons with no other listener than the north wind or the sea-fowl, and whose lot was a hard struggle with the elements, only ended when the salt spray bleached their bones, half hidden among the kelp on which they made their beds. A romantic and adventurous crew these hermits were; of one of them, Saint Brendan, legends come wafting over thirteen centuries to tell us how he pierced that wilderness of waters in search of unknown lands and of souls to convert, and even of that bright bourne, an earthly paradise (Montalembert, 3, 88); and it seems passing strange to read that Christopher Columbus himself had been inspired by this old monk and his wanderings, and had affirmed that the terrestrial paradise was in the island of Saint Brendan, which none could reach save by the will of God (*id.*, note 4). But as a rule the pilgrims were in search of other ends than adventure. It was the longing for solitude, the irresistible wish to find a more distant retreat, an asylum upon some unknown rock where no one could join them, and from which they never could be brought back. In the words of Saint Columba to the Pictish king, our brethren are anxious to discover a *desert* in the pathless sea (Adamnan's Columba, ii. 43). What a peculiar ring the following poem, assigned to St. Columba, has to our ears, choked with the voice of cities, and how it paints for us the eager longing for repose and peace and seclusion which was the *ignis fatuus* of the hermits!—

"Delightful would it be to me to be in *Uchd Ailium*
On the pinnacle of a rock,
That I might often see
The face of the ocean,
That I might see its heaving waves,
Over the wide ocean
When they chant music to their Father
Upon the world's course;

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That I might see its level sparkling strand,
It would be no cause of sorrow ;
That I might hear the song of the wonderful birds,
Source of happiness,
That I might hear the thunder of the crowding waves
Upon the rocks ;
That I might hear the roar by the side of the church,
Of the surrounding sea ;
That I might see its noble flocks,
Over the watery ocean ;
That I might see the sea monsters,
The greatest of all wonders ;
That I might see its ebbs and flood
In their career ;
That my mystical name might be, I say
Cul ri Erin (Back turned to Ireland).
That contrition might come upon my heart
Upon looking at her ;
That I might bewail my evils all,
Though it were difficult to compute them,
That I might bless the Lord
Who conserves all,
Heaven with its countless bright orders,
Land, strand, and flood.
That I might search the books all
That would be good for any soul,
At times kneeling to beloved heaven ;
At times at psalm singing ;
At times contemplating the king of heaven,
Holy the chief ;
At times at work without compulsion :
This would be delightful.
At times plucking duilisc from the rocks ;
At times at fishing ;
At times giving food to the poor ;
At times in a carcair (solitary cell)
The best advice in the presence of God
To me has been vouchsafed.
The king, whose servant I am, will not let
Anything deceive me."

Skene's Celtic Scotland, ii., 92 and 93.

How these aspirations carry us into another world altogether, and how they link wide spaces both of distance and

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of time, when we find them but the echoes of that Buddhist faith in seclusion and contemplation, which is the cardinal point of Eastern monachism, and how easily do we find ourselves repeating the sardonic criticism of Mr. Raine, that the hermits in deserting the world confessed that the best way of winning a victory was by avoiding a conflict. Human nature however, rebels against the law which dooms it to such ends. The Trappist can only retain his mental balance by supreme effort, and we find the old hermits when shut off from human intercourse, taming the wild water-fowl and making companions of them. Thus, we are told how St. Guthlac kept two ravens at Croyland, which played him all kinds of mischievous tricks, and, says his biographer, "not only were the birds subject to him, but also the fishes and wild beasts of the wilderness all obeyed him, and he daily gave them food from his own hand, as suited their kind;" swallows are said to have alighted on his shoulders quite tamely. St Cuthbert tamed the rooks in his desert island at Farne. A later hermit on the same island, St. Bartholomew, tamed a small bird so that for years it came to perch on his table, and ate from his hand. The first St. Brigid taught the birds in the neighbourhood of her hermitage to come to her at call. St. Colman tamed thirteen teal on the small lake adjoining his monastic retreat. St. Columbanus in his solitude in the wild country of the Vosges, tamed both birds and beasts so that they obeyed his voice and came to him at his call. Among them was a favourite squirrel which, when he called it, came down from the trees, let him take it in his hands, and lay contented in his bosom. In the twelfth century, St. Godric, the hermit of Finchale, in Durham, tamed snakes and vipers, which in cold weather came and warmed themselves at his fire. (T. Wright, Intellectual Observer, vi., 319, 320.) In the ninth century seals thronged the Scottish seas, a private herd of them, as Andamnan tells us, being kept in a neighbouring island by the monks of Iona, and doubtless supplied the monks with occasional food, as they did the Hebridean peasants down to the year 1703 (Montalembert, *op. cit.*, 223.).

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In the absence of domestic pets the monks doubtless sometimes solaced themselves with a wild melody from one of the harps which Irish bards loved so well, and when the weather was fine and the days were heavy on their hands they would sail away to visit some brother hermit and exchange their fund of stories of wild adventure and suffering, and gain a small capital of energy and perseverance with which to face fresh experiences. On such journeys there would be adventures enough. The North Sea was then tenanted by whales, which so late as a century ago sometimes capsized the fishermen's boats. Huge sharks also made it perilous to navigate in boats of leather and osiers (*id.*, 222, 223), while the sea itself was a very emblem of fickleness and of danger in these foggy and tempestuous latitudes. Reginald of Durham pictures this for us in graphic lines. He tells us how St. Cuthbert appeared at the prayers of some boatmen and steered the ship for them. Hogg has caught the spirit of the old monk's Latin very successfully. He says,—

"They saw an old man who sat on the wale,
His beard was long and silver grey;
Like the rime that falls at the break of day,
His locks like wool and his colour wan,
And he scarcely looked like an earthly man.
The helmsman turned his brow to the sky,
Upraised his cowl and upraised his eye;
And away shot the bark on the wing of the wind,
Over billow and bay like an image of mind.
Aloft on the dayless verge she hung,
Light on the steep wave veered and swung,
And the crests of the billows before her flung.
Loud murmured the ocean with downward growl,
The sea swam aloof, and the dark sea fowl;
The pyr duck sought the depth of the main
And rose in the whirl of her wake again,
And behind her far to the southward shone
A pathway on the snow on the waste alone."

Raine's North Durham, 59.

To the dangers already named may be added the ravages of pirates. These occurred at an earlier day than is gene-

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rally supposed. Twenty years after Columba's death, *i.e.*, therefore, in 617, a colony of 52 monks under St. Domian, who had settled on the island of Eigg, were slaughtered by pirates, "latrones," sent for the purpose by the queen of the neighbouring country, who resented their invasion of her patrimony (Montalembert, *id.* 227). Dallan Firgall, the blind chief of the bards in the time of Columba, was, we are told, murdered by pirates (*id.*, 196). Malruoc, a kinsman of Columba, who accompanied him to Scotland, and was for fifty-one years abbot of the monastery at Apercrossan, opposite Skye, was, according to local tradition, killed by Norwegian pirates (*id.*, 180). The word Norwegian has doubtless here been posthumously added.

Let us now return to our piratical friends who had desolated the Northumbrian monasteries. After their dispersal by the north wind as I have mentioned, they either returned homewards or to some trysting-place further north. They did not molest the English coast again for many years. Meanwhile they were busy enough on the coasts of Scotland. We have no records of the way in which they swept out the anchorites from their scattered homes. They were too unimportant to be the objects of attention to the Saga writers, and it is not improbable that many of them fled on the approach of the hostile ships to their mother monasteries for protection. Those who remained behind became victims of the invaders, and we can well believe that the grim old warriors must have thought strangely of their bells, and staves, and books, of their petted animals, of their wild, weird looks. As I have said, we have no details of their doings, and can only sum them up in the terse epitome of the Irish chronicler, who tells us merely that in the year 794, that is the very next year after the plundering of Northumbria, all the islands of Britain were devastated by the Gentiles (Ulster Annals, *sub anno*). The islands referred to were doubtless the various archipelagoes of the Orkneys, Shetlands, Faroes, and Hebrides.

The next year, and during the presidency of Breasal over the

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abbey, they appeared for the first time at Iona, which they plundered (Annals of Innisfallen, Skene's "Celtic Scotland," 1, 304). They went much farther, however, for they would seem to have traversed the St. George's Channel, and this very year we for the first time meet with them on the coast of Wales. Caradoc, of Lancarvan, in his Juventian Chronicle, tells us that in this year "the black pagans first came to the island of Britain from Denmark, and made great ravages in Lloegria (*i.e.*, England); afterwards they entered Glamorgan, and there killed and burnt much, but at last the Cymry conquered them, driving them into the sea, and killing very many of them; from whence they went to Ireland and devastated Rechreyn and other places" ("Wars of the Danes in Ireland," xxxiii.). They probably descended on other places besides the land on the Bristol Channel, but the history of the western coasts of Britain at this time is very obscure indeed.

The scattering of the invaders' fleet on the coast of Glamorganshire led, as I believe, to the first invasion of Wessex by the Norsemen. We read in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that in the year 787 Beorhtric married Offa's daughter. So far all is plain. The same record then goes on to say, "*in his days* first came three Norman ships from Hærethaland, and the reeve (he was called Beaduheard—Ethelward) rode to the place, and would have driven them to the king's town (*i.e.* to Dorchester—Ethelward), because he knew not who they were, and there they slew them." These were the first ships of Danish men which sought the land of the English race (Mon. Hist. Brit., 336, 337). It will be noted that although this entry is made under the year 787, the descent of the pirates is expressly said to have been (not specifically in that year,) but in the days of Beorhtric. Now Beorhtric reigned from 784 to 800. It seems incredible to me that the Norsemen should have coasted all along the Channel to the western limits of Britain without landing anywhere until they arrived in Dorsetshire; and further, that if on a piratical excursion they should only have had three ships

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with them. The three ships seem to me to point to a section of some dispersed fleet, such as that which had appeared, as I have mentioned, on the coasts of Glamorgan. It will be noticed that the Juventian Chronicle expressly calls the descent of 795 the first descent made on the coast of England. The author of that chronicle was probably not well acquainted with distant Northumbria, but doubtless knew Wessex well, and this date answers, as I have shown, to the general phrase in the Chronicle that the descent took place in the days of Beorhtric (784—800), and I therefore deem this Dorsetshire adventure as an incident of the attack on the neighbouring country bordering the Bristol Channel in 795. There is one phrase in the account of the Chronicle which is curious. It does not occur in the older codices, but only in Codices E and F, and yet it can hardly have been an invention, and seems like some inspiration from an early source. I refer to the mention of Haerethaland as the place where the foreign ships came. This is clearly Hordaland, or Hordafold, in Norway, and curiously enough Hirotha or Irruith is the Irish name for Norway (Dr. Todd, "Wars of the Danes, &c.," xxxiv., note 1), as if the first invaders who made the land known came from Hordaland. If they came from Norway, it makes it even more improbable that they should have found their way to Dorsetshire direct.

We must proceed with our story. The greater part of the fleet, according to the Juventian Chronicle, went to Ireland, and there devastated Rechreyn and other places. This agrees exactly with the Irish annals, which tell us that in 795 Rechrin was burnt by the Gentiles, and its shrines were broken and plundered. The Rechrin here mentioned was probably, as Dr. Reeves has shown, the modern island of Lambay on the coast of the county of Dublin, in the ancient district of Magh Bregh, or Bregin, where Columba himself founded a church, and appointed Colman to it. The church there, says the same author, was afterwards held jointly with Durrow under the same abbot, proving it was a Columban foundation (Reeves, Columba, note to chapter xlii.). We do not hear of

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the pirates again for three years, and it is probable that they had not yet made any fixed settlement on the coasts of Britain, but having harried the land and got their fill of loot, they turned their prows northwards, and went home to tell their friends what an easy prey for hawks and kites such as they the monkish dovecotes of the English coasts were, and to show to their wives and relatives some of those wonderful picture books and works of early art which Irish artists then produced.

It was in 798 when we next hear of them, and we are then told they burnt Inis Patrick, and carried off cattle from the land, and broke the shrine of Dachonna, and took spoils of the sea between Erin and Alba, *i.e.*, from the Hebrides. (Annals of Ulster, *ad an* 797, which was really 798.) Dachonna, or Machonna, was bishop of the Isle of Man. His real name being Conan, the particles Da and Ma being descriptive. Colgan, in his life, tells us he was bishop of Inish Patrick or the Isle of Man. He died about the year 648. (Colgan, "Lives of the Saints," 1, 59 and 60.)

It is probable that Saint Ninian, the founder of Whithern, first planted the Gospel in the island. We, at all events, find that the Priory of Whethem was endowed with lands in the island, for which the prior did fealty to the Lord (Cumming's "I. of M." 93). Peel paid certain dues to the old "White House" which Ninian founded in Galloway, but his influence there was only transient. The real evangelizer of the place was, according to universal tradition, the famous Saint Patrick, who is said to have been driven thither by stress of weather on his second journey to Ireland in 444; and we are told that, finding the people much given up to magic under the influence of Manananbeg Mac y Lheir, he stopped for three years and converted them. He then appointed one of his disciples named Germanus as its first bishop. It is to this Saint Germanus that the Cathedral of Peel was dedicated. Germanus died in the lifetime of Saint Patrick, who is said to have consecrated two other bishops to the island, named Conindrius and Romulus, who were succeeded by Saint Manghold, an

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Irishman, another disciple of Saint Patrick, who is said to have been cast ashore in a coracle at the headland which bears his name. He is also said to have divided the island into its seventeen parishes, to one of which he gave its name. He is traditionally reported to have been succeeded by Saint Loinanus, in honour of whom the parish church of Saint Lonan is dedicated, by Saint Conaghan and Saint Marown, another patron of one of the insular churches (Colgan, i. 86, Cumming's "Isle of Man," 342). In the year 600 we find the See of Man filled by Saint Conanus, also called Machonna and Dachonna, who died on January 26th, 648 (Cumming, *op. cit.*, 169), and whom I have previously mentioned. These saints were an entirely different class to the followers of Saint Columba. For the most part seculars and parish priests, they neither lived in the same communities nor followed the same rule; and, what is more important for our purpose, they did not occupy the same kind of dwellings. The Columban clergy, as I have shown, built their churches and dwellings of wood and whattles, a method which from them obtained the name of the Irish method. The secular clergy, the followers of Saint Ninian and Saint Patrick, apparently followed the Roman method of building in stone. This was the case at Whithern. It was the case also in the many little parish churches of Cornwall and Wales which still survive from early times. It was the case also in Ireland, where as early as 486 we read of Daimhliag of Cianan, *i.e.*, the stone church of Cianan, which was plundered by the Danes in the early part of the 9th century (Chron. Scot. 31, Wars of the Danes, XL.); we also read of the Daimhliag of Ardmacha, or the stone church of Armagh as being burnt in 839 (Annals of Ulster, *sub. ann.*). The remains of these early stone buildings, which survive in the Isle of Man are singularly perfect. Of one of them situated on St. Michel's isle, Mr. Cumming says, it reminds us strongly in architecture and general details of the interesting church of Paranzabuloe in Cornwall, described by Mr. Collins in "The Lost Church Found." It is but of one compartment, 31 feet long and 14 broad, the thickness of the

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walls being about three feet. At the west end is a simple bell turret. The chapel was entered by one door on the south side nine feet from the west end, the height of which is six feet, and the width 2 feet four inches. It contains four windows, an east and west window, and a north and south placed very near the east end; the west, north and south windows square headed, the two latter only twelve inches wide outside, but with a wide splay two feet ten inches inside. The east window is one long single light, with a semicircular head and only ten inches in breadth outside, but largely splayed. The door like the east window has a semicircular head formed of small pieces of the schist of this neighbourhood set edgeways round the arch, while the door jambs are of rough blocks of limestone. There is no appearance of a tool on any part of it, if we except the coping stones on the west gable. Under the east windows is the foundation of a stone altar, and at the same end in the north corner three stone steps which may have served as an ambo or pulpit. The height of the side walls of the building is only ten feet. Attached to it is a graveyard 197 feet long and 98 feet broad (Cumming *op. cit.*, 91 and 92).

Of a similar fabric is the chapel of Saint Patrick on the island of Peel, whose rude walls have withstood decay most wonderfully. They are formed of clay slate, with an admixture of pieces of old red sandstone forming the arches and coigns. The masonry is rude, irregular, and wide-jointed, and many of the stones are arranged herring-bone fashion. At the west gable there was once a bell-turret, while the windows and doors are round-headed. It is probable that, like other buildings of the period, it was roofed with thatch. Besides these two well-preserved specimens of the early Celic architecture of Man there are scattered about the island many little oratory or quartenlaid chapels (in Manx, *treen caballyn*) of similar construction and dating from the same period. I have enlarged somewhat on this topic to correct a popular error which supposes that in very early times there were only wooden churches in Britain, and also to point out the kind of places

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which were ravaged by the buccaneers, and which also probably inspired much of their architecture at a later date.

The island of Peel, on which is situated the cathedral of St. Germanus, is also known as St. Patrick's Isle, or Inis Patrick. As I have said, we are told in the Irish annals that in 798 the Gentiles or Norsemen made a descent upon Inis Patrick and carried off a quantity of cattle—doubtless of the little black Celtic shorthorns which then everywhere prevailed in these parts; and they also broke the shrine of Dachonna —that is of the bishop of that name, whom we have already mentioned.

The Isle of Man is conspicuous among the places where the remains of early Christian settlements are found. They are dotted over the island very thickly, and are also found on the islets or satellites which occur on its western and southern shores.

It was about this time that a famous old ecclesiastical foundation disappears from history, namely, the bishopric of Whitherne or Candida Cara in Galloway, where a church had been founded by Saint Ninian, to which I hope to return on another occasion. It was the first Christian settlement in Scotland. The irruption of the Saxons into Galloway seems to have put an end to the Celtic line of bishops there. But in 731, as Bede tells us, a fresh line was commenced in the person of Pecthelm. This line of Anglican bishops had but a short duration. It also came to an end at the close of the century; Badulf who was consecrated in 790, as Simeon of Durham tells us (Mon. Hist. Brit., 667), being the last recorded bishop there. During the rule of these Anglican bishops it is probable that the names of Cuthbert and Oswald became much venerated in Ayrshire, where there are numerous dedications to them.

According to William of Malmesbury the see was destroyed by the Picts and Scots ("Celtic Scotland," 2, 225), but this was using the language of other days to describe similar foes. The Picts and Scots, as we know, had long ceased to harass the coasts of Britain, and were now Christians, but their

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place had been taken by the Norse pirates, to whose handiwork there can be little doubt the destruction of Whitherne was due.

In the year 802 the monastery at Iona was again burnt down. The abbot Breasal had died the year before, after a tenure of his office extending over thirty years His successor, Connachlach, whose death is entered in 802 by the Four Masters, may perhaps have been a victim, if not directly of the pirates' weapons, of their ruthlessness on this occasion. But a more terrible fate was at hand. Four years after their previous attack they again appeared on the sacred island, and to follow the short phrase of the Ulster Annals, "the family there, to the number of sixty-eight monks, was put to the sword." The abbot Cellach, son of Congaile, however, escaped and fled to Ireland, taking with him apparently the remains of Saint Columba. The monastery then destroyed was doubtless built entirely, or almost entirely, of wood, and little would remain to tell of the presence of the fraternity save the charred walls, the orchards and tilled fields, and perhaps a few stone crosses. For some years the site seems to have remained thus desolate. Meanwhile let us follow the body of St. Columba. "We know from Adamnan," says Mr. Skene, "that the body of the saint had been placed in a grave prepared for it, and apparently enclosed in a stone coffin, and that the place in which it lay was perfectly well known in his day. It was marked by the stone which he had used as a pillow. We also know that at the time Bede wrote his history, in 735, his remains were still undisturbed, but at the time the Book of Armagh was compiled, that is in 807, they were enshrined and preserved at the church of Saul Patrick, on the shore of Strangford Lough, in the county of Down in Ireland" ("Celtic Scotland," 2, 292). It would seem that during the eighth century, when such enshrinements were frequent (*id.*, 293), the saint's bones were exhumed and placed in a costly shrine covered with gold or silver-gilt plates, and elaborately bejewelled. In this casket the sacred relics were easily portable. They were now taken for safety, as I have said, to Ireland. "So complete was the ruin of the monastery,

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Society having completed its first decade, the Council conceive that a brief statement of its rise and progress may not be unacceptable. The Society was originated at a meeting held in London on the 23d November 1868. Under the presidentship of Dr Rogers, the meeting proceeded to constitute the Society, under the designation of "The Historical Society of Great Britain." A code of laws was framed, which continues to regulate the Society now. Among those who on its formation joined as members, were the Marquess of Lorne; Earl Russell; Lord Lyttelton; Sir William Fairbairn, Bart.; Sir Roundell Palmer, now Lord Selborne; Sir John Lubbock, Bart.; Sir John Bowring; Dean Stanley; Dean Hook; Mr George Grote; Mr Froude; and Mr Ruskin. Dean Hook contributed the first paper. It was read by him on the 24th May 1869, under the presidentship of Sir John Bowring.

In February 1871, the Society issued Part I., being a half-volume of *Transactions*. Part II., completing vol. i., appeared in the following year; and since 1873 a volume of *Transactions* has been issued annually. Six volumes have altogether been issued. The first volume, having long been out of print, was, by order of Council, reprinted in 1875, at an expense which was fully defrayed by the number of copies ordered to complete sets.

On the 10th February 1870, the Society amalgamated with the Provincial Record Association, and in November 1874 with the English Reprint Society. The British Genealogical Institute was,

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on the 10th February 1876, incorporated with the Society, and since that time a "Genealogical Section" has been added. Through these several amalgamations the Society acquired an accession of members.

Mr George Grote was the first President; he took a deep interest in the Society's welfare, and was the first to move Government for her Majesty's permission that it might be designated "Royal." On the death of Mr Grote in 1871, Earl Russell was unanimously chosen President. His lordship delivered an Inaugural Address on the 24th June 1872, which is printed in vol. ii. of the *Transactions*. After the death of Earl Russell, Lord Aberdare, F.R.S., a member of the Society, was unanimously elected President. He delivered an Inaugural Address at the Annual Meeting held on the 14th November 1878, and which, at the special request of the Society, is included in the accompanying volume of the Society's *Transactions*.

Two managers of the City Bank successively acted as Treasurers. On the 27th May 1875, the present Treasurer, Mr William Herbage, accepted the Treasurership, which he still holds. The office is honorary, no emolument being attached to it.

At the first meeting, Dr Rogers was appointed *Historiographer* or Editor of the Society's publications—an office which he holds, with the Secretaryship. In November 1868, when the Society was constituted, the Secretary was assigned a salary of £100 per annum, with the provision that, when the funds admitted, it should be raised to £300 per annum. From November 1869 till April 1872, Dr Rogers discharged the duties of both offices without at the time receiving any emolument. At the annual meeting in November 1872, when the Society's funds had greatly increased, he was appointed Historiographer *ad vitam aut culpam*, with a salary of £120. At the annual meeting in November 1873, his salary was increased to £150; while in respect of past services, he was (less what had been paid him) voted £100 per annum from the date of the Society's origin in 1868 up to that period. His salary was further increased by £100 at the annual meeting in November 1875; and he was, at the annual meeting

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of November 1876, voted £400 as Historiographer and for payment of assistants in discharging the office of Secretary.

As Dr Rogers conducts the Society's correspondence in his own house, the Society is relieved of office rent. He was in 1876 voted an honorarium of one hundred guineas.

The Society met in the Scottish Corporation Hall, Fleet Street, till the 15th May 1874, when premises at 11 Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, were obtained on an agreement. In March 1878 the Council secured their present elegant and commodious premises in Dr Williams's Library Buildings, 16 Grafton Street East.

The proposal of establishing a Library made in January 1875, has been attended with success. Among the principal donors are George Harris, Esq., LL.D., who presented upwards of 200 volumes, along with a series of historical diagrams; Lady Burdett Coutts, who presented 130 volumes, including the publications of the Camden and Harleian Societies; and Dr Rogers, who has presented 100 volumes; also the Baron de Bogouskevsky, of Russia, who has presented books and autographs. The books are accommodated in an apartment in the Society's Rooms, under the charge of the Rev. Thomas Hunter, keeper of the Library. The books may be consulted by the Members, or borrowed by them, from the hours of ten till five daily.

At the first meeting, held in November 1868, the *entrance fee* was fixed at three guineas, with two guineas of annual payment; now arranged as one guinea per annum for each of the two sections of the Society.

The Council having submitted to the annual meeting in November 1876, that a large number of the Fellows had communicated a desire to be possessed of a Diploma, or certificate of membership, it was resolved to employ Mr Clark Stanton, R.S.A., to prepare a suitable design, and to grant a Diploma to those who were willing to pay for it the sum of six shillings. The Diploma is subscribed by the President, Secretary, and Treasurer.

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The Council has arranged the interchange of communications and *Transactions* with foreign associations. The Society now exchanges publications with the Imperial Archæological Society of Russia; the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna; the Royal Society of Science and Arts, Brussels; the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen; the Ethnographical Society of Paris; the State Archives of Tuscany; the Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisbon; the Royal Historical Society and National Archæological Society of Spain; the Society of Antiquaries of Sweden; the Academy of Belles Lettres, History, and Antiquities, of Stockholm; the Royal Society of New South Wales; the Royal Society of Tasmania; the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; the Academy of Arts and Sciences, Connecticut; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; the Historical Society of Massachusetts; and the Historical Society of New York. Nearly all these societies have sent contributions to the Society's Library.

Persons have from time to time been elected as *Corresponding Members*, who have rendered service to the Society, or who were likely to communicate historical information. Among the Honorary Members have been enrolled the Emperor and Empress of Brazil; His Majesty Leopold II., King of the Belgians; and His Majesty Oscar II., King of Sweden and Norway. The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.; Count von Beust; Professors Hans Wörsaae and Engelhardt of Copenhagen; the Baron de Bogouskevsky, and Professor John de Pomialowsky, of Russia; and Dr Schliemann, have received honorary diplomas. From the commencement Lady Associates have been admitted.

From the Treasurer's cash-book (which has been audited annually) is submitted a statement of Annual Receipts and Disbursements since the Society's origin:

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For the Year ending November			Receipts.			Disbursements.			Balance at the end of the Financial Year.		
1869.			£132	19	0	£132	14	3	£0	4	9
1870. Balance brot. for.,	£0	4 9	51	1	0	9	6	8	41	14	4
Receipts, . . .	50	16 3									
1871. Balance brot. for.,	£41	14 4	127	16	0	91	10	2	36	5	10
Receipts, . . .	86	1 8									
1872. Balance brot. for.,	£36	5 10	438	17	10	129	10	6	309	7	4
Receipts, . . .	402	12 0									
1873. Balance brot. for.,	£309	7 4	646	14	10	541	2	3	105	12	7
Receipts, . . .	337	7 6									
1874. Balance brot. for.,	£105	12 7	527	6	1	515	7	9	11	18	4
Receipts, . . .	421	13 6									
1875. Balance brot. for.,	£11	18 4	641	7	5	542	9	10	98	17	7
Receipts, . . .	629	9 1									
1876. Balance brot. for.,	£98	17 7	846	0	1	782	4	4	63	15	9
Receipts, . . .	747	2 6									
1877. Balance brot. for.,	£63	15 9	857	5	9	790	12	10	66	12	11
Receipts, . . .	793	10 0									

The ordinary expenditure, which is regulated by the Council, consists of salaries to the Historiographer and the Secretarial staff; Librarian's fee; printing, binding, and distributing *Transactions;* stationery and postages; bank charges; and an annual outlay on the Library.

All payments, as provided by a resolution of Council passed at the annual meeting of 12th November 1874, are made by cheques subscribed by the Secretary and Chairman, or presiding Member of Council; and are, at the request of the Treasurer, drawn on the London and South-Western Bank, London, of which he is Manager. The cheques paid and receipts connected therewith for all disbursements, as well as letters enclosing subscriptions, are kept by the Treasurer. The Treasurer pays immediately into the bank the moneys received by him, and as the pass-book contains these items, as well as entries of cheques paid, it at all

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times shows the exact state of the Treasurer's account. The Treasurer's cash-book, which is a transcript of the bank pass-book, is yearly, prior to the annual meeting, examined by two or more Auditors, Members of the Society, who compare entries with vouchers, and thereafter append a certification.

Including £50 for rent of rooms; cost of printing *Transactions* and books of the Genealogical Section (which is self-supporting); cost of printing, stationery, and postages; and salaries of Librarian, Historiographer, and Secretarial Staff, the fixed annual charges are reckoned as not ordinarily exceeding £800. And as there are no liabilities against the Society beyond those of the current session, the present state of the receipts would warrant the belief that the Society will in future not only be fully able to satisfy its ordinary expenditure, but to utilise a portion of its income against future contingencies.

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Balance Sheet for Year ending October 31, 1878.

Dr.				*Cr.*			
1877.				1877-78.			
Nov. 1.	Balance brought forward,	£66	12 11	Printing and binding,	£403	12	8
1878.				Stationery, postages, etc.,	71	5	6
Oct. 31.	To subscriptions, sales of books, etc.,	988	11 1	Library, and prizes to South Kensington, etc.,	45	2	0
				Rent of Society's Rooms, furniture, refreshments at monthly meetings, and law expenses,	82	18	6
				Salaries: Editor, Secretary and assistants,	420	0	0
				Subscriptions twice paid,	4	4	0
				Stamps and bank charges,	8	15	11
				Balance in Treasurer's hands (October 31),	19	5	5
		£1055	4 0		£1055	4	0

Audited, and found correct.

JAMES M. CROMBIE,
E. OAKLEY NEWMAN,
W. C. HEPBURN,
} *Auditors.*

8th November 1878.

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